

NOTIFICATION.

Delhi, the 14th January, 1926.

No. 478/25-G.—The following Final Report of the Delegates of India to the Sixth Session of

the Assembly of the League of Nations is published for general information:—

FINAL REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1925).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

MY LORD,

We beg to submit our Final Report on the proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, held at Geneva from the 7th to the 26th September 1925, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. The session was opened on the 7th September by M. Painlevé (France), acting as president of the Thirty-fifth Session of the Council of the League; which was being held simultaneously. In his opening speech (of which we reproduce the text in Appendix III) he reviewed the work of the Council during the past year, mentioning specially the position of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, opened for signature at the Fifth Session of the Assembly.

The next business of the session was the appointment of a Committee (including His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala) to report on the credentials of the representatives of States Members present. A list of the delegates of the 49 States represented at this session appears in Appendix I of our Report. No new State Member was admitted at this Assembly. States which did not send representatives were the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, and Costa Rica.

3. Senator Dandurand (Canada) was unanimously elected President of the Sixth Session of the Assembly, and the following were elected to be Vice-Presidents:—Viscount Ishii (Japan), M. Briand (France), M. Zumeta (Venezuela), Mr. Chamberlain (British Empire), Prince Arfa-ud-Dowleh (Persia), M. Duca (Romania).

4. In accordance with precedent, six Committees were constituted by the Assembly, each delegation being free to appoint a representative to each Committee. The Committees elected their own Chairmen, who, together with the Vice-Presidents, formed the bureau of

the Assembly. An Agenda Committee was also appointed to report on new items proposed in the course of the session for addition to the agenda. The following is a list of the items on the agenda assigned to each Committee, together with the names of the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen, and of the representatives of India who served on each:—

COMMITTEE NO. I.

Constitutional and Legal Questions.

Chairman: M. Scialoja (Italy);
Vice-Chairman: M. Fernandes (Brazil); Representative of India: Sir Edward Chamier.

*Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

Proposal of the Danish Government concerning the Establishment of a Conciliation Commission attached to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Amendment to article 16 of the Covenant (para. 2 of the original text, which becomes para. 5 of the text as amended in 1921).

Proposal of the Netherlands Delegation concerning the replies of the Special Committee (Ire) and appointed under as well as M. Resolution of the 2d predicted that 1923.

*Optional Clause of the concluded with Permanent Court found to be in harmony with the principles of the Protocol.

COMMITTEE NO. II. A speaker emphasised condition of these

Technical Or be that Germany

Chairman: Joël admission to the (Netherland.

M. Veverka, Representative of India: Sir Atul Chatterjee; Substitute: Mr. P. J. Patrick.

Report on the work of the Economic and Financial Organisation.

* Subject added to the agenda during the session.

Report on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.

Report on the work of the Health Organisation.

*International Relief Union.

Report on the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Education of the Youth of all Countries in the Ideals of World Peace.

Instruction in Universities and Schools regarding the Aims of the League.

*General Economic Conference.

COMMITTEE No. III.

Reduction of Armaments.

Chairman: M. Nintchitch (Serb-Croat-Slovene State); *Vice-Chairman:* M. de Brouckère (Belgium); *Representative of India:* Viscount Willingdon; *Substitute:* Sir Edward Chamier.

Arbitration, Security, and Reduction of Armaments.

*Statistical Information on the Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War.

*Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War.

*Year-Book of General and Statistical Information on Military, Naval and Air Armaments.

COMMITTEE No. IV.

Financial Questions.

Chairman: Dr. Costa (Portugal); *Vice-Chairman:* Mr. McWhite (Netherlands Free State); *Representative of India:* Sir Atul Kherjee; *Substitute:* Mr. P. Wick.

Accounts and Budget of the other Financial Questions.

the Expenses of the Contributions in Arrears.

Direction of an Assembly Hall and Annexes for the use of the Secretariat.

Staff Provident Fund.

COMMITTEE No. V.

Social and General Questions.

Chairman: M. Mowinkel (Norway); *Vice-Chairman:* M. Garay† (Panama); *Representative of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala; *Substitute:* Professor L. F. Rushbrook-Williams.

Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.

Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

*Protection of Women and Children in the Near East.

*Measures to help Refugees.

*Loan for the Settlement in Armenia of Armenian Refugees.

International Municipal Co-operation.

COMMITTEE No. VI.

Political Questions.

Chairman: M. Guerrero (Salvador); *Vice-Chairman:* Dr. Nansen (Norway); *Representative of India:* Viscount Willingdon; *Substitute:* His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

*Protection of Minorities.

*Mandates.

*Collaboration of the Press in the Organisation of Peace.

Slavery.

5. After the completion of preliminary formal business tributes were paid by various speakers to the memory of the late M. Viviani (a former Prime Minister of France); M. Branting (Prime Minister of Sweden), M. Meierovics (Latvia), and M. Chagas (Portugal), who had all contributed greatly by their personal service to the work of the League of Nations.

Debate on the Report of the Work of the Council.

6. The subsequent debate on the work of the Council, which continued concurrently with meetings of certain Committees until the 17th September, was

* Subject added to the agenda during the session.

† M. Garay assumed the Presidency of the Committee on the departure of M. Mowinkel from Geneva.

* Subject added to the agenda during the session.

devoted mainly to discussion of the questions of security, arbitration, and disarmament. The Assembly had to decide what work it could usefully undertake at the moment in regard to these questions, which the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, opened for signature at the Fifth Assembly, had been intended to regulate. In particular, the Protocol had provided for the recognition as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in disputes of the kind defined in article 13 of the Covenant of the League as being "among those generally suitable for submission to arbitration" (article 3); also that any judicial sentence or arbitral award rendered as a result of the intervention of the Council in a dispute should be carried out in good faith (article 4). Provision had been made for the summoning of an international conference for the reduction of armaments to meet at Geneva on the 15th June 1925, if by the 1st May 1925 ratifications of the Protocol had been deposited by at least a majority of the permanent Members of the Council and 10 other Members of the League (article 17), and that the Protocol should enter into force as soon as the plan for the reduction of armaments had been adopted by the conference (article 21). But the conditions stipulated in the Protocol to enable a conference for the reduction of armaments to be held had not been fulfilled. The Protocol had been signed on behalf of 18 States, among them only one State which is a permanent Member of the Council (*viz.*, France). It had not, however, been ratified by any State when the Sixth Assembly met. On the other hand, a statement of the reasons on account of which the British Empire considered the Protocol unacceptable had been made at the meeting of the Council in March 1925, and subsequently Canada and India had communicated to the League written statements of their objections to the protocol. Meantime, discussions had been proceeding between the British Empire, Germany, France, and Belgium with a view to the conclusion of limited and separate pacts of security between Germany and her western neighbours, while the question of the negotiation of similar pacts between Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland was known to be under consideration. Also the conclusion of a number

of bilateral or multilateral arbitration treaties between States in Western Europe had recently been notified to the League. We have given in our Interim Report a summary of some of the more important speeches made in the debate on arbitration, security, and disarmament. The speeches delivered by Mr. Chamberlain (British Empire), M. Paul-Boncour (France), M. Motta (Switzerland), and Count Apponyi (Hungary) are reproduced in Appendix III of this Report. Speakers in the debate, while in most cases doing homage to the principles underlying the Protocol, generally recognised that it could not now be brought into force in the manner originally contemplated. M. Uden (Sweden) proposed that the provisions of the Protocol relating to compulsory arbitration should be examined by a committee of experts, in view of the importance of acceptance by the Powers of the principles of compulsory arbitration. M. Motta (Switzerland) also emphasised the special importance of this part of the Protocol, and hoped that the States which had already agreed to the *ipso facto* jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in justiciable disputes would renew their undertakings when they lapsed. M. Loudon (Netherlands) drew special attention to the importance of proceeding without delay with the preparation of a general programme covering the whole question of the reduction and limitation of armaments, with a view to convening at an opportune moment a general and international conference. For this purpose he proposed that the Council should consider the creation of a special organism to prepare a draft of the programme. Mr. Chamberlain (British Empire) and M. Hymans (Belgium), as well as M. Paul-Boncour (France), predicted that the separate agreements which it was hoped would shortly be concluded with Germany would be found to be in harmony with the principles of the Protocol. The last-named speaker emphasised that the preliminary condition of these agreements would be that Germany should apply for admission to the League of Nations, and expressed the hope that if the objects of the Protocol could not be obtained by the conclusion of an agreement of universal application they might yet be advanced to the fullest possible extent by the creation of a network of separate pacts conceived in the

spirit of the Protocol. M. Quiñones de León (Spain), with a view to combining the ideas expressed by the majority of the previous speakers, proposed a draft resolution which would leave to the Council the duty of making preparatory arrangements for the conference when it considered that satisfactory conditions of general security had been established. M. Benes (Czecho-Slovakia), while testifying to his belief that in the long run the League would decide to adopt an agreement conceived on the general lines of the Protocol, supported the adoption of the Spanish resolution by the present Assembly. This resolution, however, was not considered by certain speakers who followed to deal adequately with the subjects of compulsory arbitration and reduction of armaments. M. Buero (Uruguay) proposed that the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be re-examined with a view to the jurisdiction of the Court being more widely adopted. Count Apponyi (Hungary) expressed fear that the portion of the Spanish resolution dealing with the reduction of armaments was of a temporising character, and proposed instead that the Council should consider forthwith plans for a general reduction of armaments in accordance with article 8 of the Covenant, and at the same time make preparatory arrangements for a conference on reduction of armaments to meet and begin its work without delay. A speech of M. Scialoja (Italy) should also be mentioned, in which he argued that the attempt in the Protocol to provide for the settlement of all international disputes by juridical means was premature. He considered that, until the moral work of the League in inculcating a spirit of universal brotherhood was further advanced, settlement of disputes by arbitration of the conventional type (though this might not at present be applicable to every type of dispute) was more likely to be successful than the method of juridical settlement aimed at in the Protocol, backed by material penalties. The outcome of the discussion was the reference of the draft resolutions moved by the Swedish, Swiss, and Uruguayan Delegations to the First Committee, and those of the Netherlands and Hungarian Delegations to the Third Committee. The declarations made by States Members of the League on the subject, as well as the Spanish draft resolution, were referred

for the joint consideration of the First and Third Committees.

7. Among other questions mentioned in the course of the debate on the work of the Council the most important was a proposal introduced by M. Loucheur (France), in a speech which we reproduce in Appendix III, that an international conference should be summoned by the League to investigate the economic difficulties standing in the way of a revival of general prosperity, and to ascertain the best means of overcoming those difficulties and of preventing disputes. The discussion of this proposal was referred to Committee II. Dr. Nansen (Norway), High Commissioner for Russian and Armenian Refugees, also introduced in the course of the debate his proposals for the continuation of the work of settlement of Russian refugees, and for the floating of an international loan similar to that raised on behalf of Greek refugees for the settlement in the Armenian Republic of Erivan of 15,000 Armenian refugees now in Europe. These proposals were subsequently discussed in Committee V. Certain questions regarding the procedure of examination by the Council of petitions emanating from minorities were raised by Count Apponyi (Hungary), and two draft resolutions were submitted by M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China), the first expressing the hope that the international conference convened to study Chinese affairs might arrive at a satisfactory solution, the second reiterating the recommendation adopted unanimously by the Assemblies of 1922, 1923, and 1924, that in electing six non-permanent Members of the Council the Assembly should make its choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, ethnic groups, religious divisions, various types of civilisation, and chief sources of wealth. These two draft resolutions were not discussed in Committee. They are reproduced in the form in which they were ultimately adopted by the Assembly in paragraphs 67 and 63 of our Report.

Subjects referred to Committee I (Legal and Constitutional Questions).

THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

8. As was stated in para. 21 of our Interim Report, the most important proposals dealt with by the First Committee

were those on the subject of compulsory arbitration and the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The consideration of the draft resolutions referred by the Assembly, and of two further proposals made by the Japanese and Belgian Delegates in the course of the discussion, was carried out chiefly by a Sub-Committee of the First Committee of which Sir Edward Chamier was a member. The Japanese Delegate proposed that the Council should submit to a careful study the whole question of the pacific settlement of international disputes, while the draft Belgian resolution emphasised the desirability that States, in the interests of their security, should conclude particular agreements for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes. The Sub-Committee's report, as amended and adopted by the Committee, is printed in full in Appendix II.

9. In view of the feeling of the Committee that it was inopportune to consider the possibility of amending the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice at a time when an important State (*i.e.*, the United States of America) was considering the question of adhering to it, the Uruguayan delegate agreed not to press for the consideration by the present Assembly of his proposal that the Council should be requested to submit the Statute of the Permanent Court to a detailed examination, with the object of securing a more general acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court.

10. The proposed resolutions were adopted by the Assembly in the following form, the final paragraph of the first resolution having been proposed by the Third Committee:—

1. The Assembly,

Taking note of the declarations submitted to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations in respect of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and of the fact that the said Protocol has not up to the present received the ratifications necessary for putting it into operation immediately;

Convinced that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations;

Declaring afresh that a war of aggression should be regarded as an international crime:

Regards favourably the effort made by certain nations to attain those objects by concluding arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant

of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Protocol (Arbitration, Security, Disarmament);

Records the fact that such agreements need not be restricted to a limited area but may be applied to the whole world;

Recommends that, after these conventions and treaties have been deposited with the League of Nations, the Council should examine them in order to report to the Seventh Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements;

Undertakes again to work for the establishment of peace by the sure method of arbitration, security and disarmament;

And, in conformity with the spirit of article 8 of the Covenant, requests the Council to make a preparatory study with a view to a Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments in order that, as soon as satisfactory conditions have been assured from the point of view of general security as provided for in Resolution XIV of the Third Assembly, the said Conference may be convened and a general reduction and limitation of armaments may be realised.

2. The Assembly,

In view of the importance of making a thorough study of the views which have been expressed in the Assembly and the Council on the subject of pacific settlement of international disputes;

Convinced that such study will contribute to the development of a system of pacific settlement of international disputes:

Requests the Council to submit to careful examination the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the Assembly and the Council with a view to pacific settlement of international disputes, and to report to the Seventh Assembly upon the progress which can be made in this matter.

3. The Assembly,

Reserving the question whether it is at present desirable to embody in a new general Convention the provisions concerning compulsory arbitration contained in the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes;

Recalling the guarantees provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations:

Calls the attention of States Members of the League to the desirability, from the point of view of their security, of concluding particular conventions for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes.

PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONCILIATION COMMISSION ATTACHED TO THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

11. A proposal to this effect was placed on the agenda of the Assembly at the request of the Danish Government, with the twofold object of providing that disputes submitted to the Court might also be submitted to a

procedure of conciliation and of centralising the arrangements made in several recent international treaties for setting up Conciliation Commissions. The proposal contemplated the establishment of a Conciliation Commission attached to the Court and consisting of three members, *viz.*, one member appointed by each of the parties in each particular case, together with one member of the Court acting as Chairman; and it provided for the compulsory prior reference (later modified to the optional reference) to the Commission of all disputes between States which are to be submitted to the Court.

12. The proposal was severely criticised in the Committee. Criticism chiefly rested on the distinction between the work of a judge and the duties of a conciliator; it was felt that reasons of opportunism and political considerations should not be allowed to affect the purely legal work of the Court, and that the reputation and even the existence of the Court would be imperilled if the impression were created that it was an organ competent to deal with purely political disputes. Moreover, at a time when certain nations were contemplating entry into the League of Nations or adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court, it was held to be inexpedient to attempt to modify that Statute by adding new organisations to the Court. As, however, the Danish Delegation was not prepared to withdraw the proposal, and as a similar proposal had recently been made at the Institute of International Law, the Committee decided to recommend postponement of the question to a subsequent session of the Assembly in order to allow Governments to give it fuller consideration. The following resolution was adopted by the Assembly:—

The Assembly decides to adjourn to a subsequent session the consideration of the proposal of the Danish Government as to the establishment of a Conciliation Commission attached to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

AMENDMENT OF ARTICLE XVI OF THE COVENANT.

13. The Fifth Assembly* had adjourned to the Sixth Assembly the consideration of an amendment to article

XVI of the Covenant, proposed by the British Delegation, by which the words "in such case" would be omitted from the second paragraph of the original article. Certain amendments to this article were adopted by the Second and Fifth Assemblies, by which three new paragraphs would be inserted before the original second paragraph. Once these amendments come into force the three words will bear a meaning quite different from their signification in the unamended article. The British proposal was therefore in the nature of a drafting amendment and not one of substance. Certain difficulty, however, was seen in the proposal of an amendment to the Covenant which was conditional upon the coming into force of other amendments as yet not ratified by the necessary number of States. The proposal was therefore referred to a Sub-Committee, which ultimately recommended, as the simplest course, the adoption of the proposed amendment, in the hope, if not the certainty, that the amendments adopted by the Second and Fifth Assemblies would be ratified. The following resolution was in consequence submitted to, and adopted by, the Assembly:—

Assembly Resolution The Assembly adopts (21 Sept.) the following resolution, being an amendment to article 16 of the Covenant:—

"The words 'in such case' in the second paragraph of the original text of article 16 of the Covenant shall be deleted."

This amendment shall be submitted for ratification by the Members of the League.

A Protocol embodying the amendment shall at once be drawn up in accordance with the principles adopted by the Second Assembly for amendments to the Covenant.

EXAMINATION OF THE REPLIES OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF JURISTS APPOINTED IN PURSUANCE OF A RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL DATED 28TH SEPTEMBER 1923.

14. Five questions on points concerning the interpretation of the Covenant and other matters of international law arising out of the dispute between Italy and Greece in 1923 were referred at the 26th Session of the Council to a special committee of jurists, whose replies were published in the Report to the Assembly on the Work of the Council during the year 1923-24. A proposal of the Netherlands Delegation regarding the examination and elucidation of

* Page 16 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

the replies was placed on the agenda of the Fifth Assembly,* and referred by it to the Sixth Assembly. On the recommendation of the First Committee the following resolution was adopted by the Assembly:—

The Assembly requests the Council to invite the Governments of the States Members of the League which find in the Report of the Special Committee of Jurists appointed under the resolution of the Council of 28th September 1923, doubtful points which require elucidation, or which may have other comments to make on this report, to forward their observations to the Secretariat of the League of Nations before 1st February 1926, with a view to a possible examination of the matter by a Committee to be appointed by the Council.

RENEWAL OF ACCESSIONS TO THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

15. With a view to encouraging States which have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court under article 36 of its Statute for a limited period to renew their undertakings, the Swiss Delegation presented to the Assembly a draft resolution recommending those States to take the necessary steps to renew in due course their adherence to the optional clause. Considerable difficulty was felt by the Committee in dealing with this resolution. Several speakers, including particularly the Australian delegate, pointed out that only 15 of the States Members had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, and that it was not to be expected that the delegates of the remaining countries which had not yet seen their way to adhere to article 36 could vote upon the Swiss resolution. It was stated, however, that the intention of the Swiss Delegation was merely to ensure that those States which were prepared to renew their undertakings under article 36 should not fail to do so through inadvertent neglect of the necessary steps. The Committee finally proposed the following resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly:—

Assembly Resolution (22 Sept.). The Assembly,

Noting with satisfaction the fact that up to the present 15 States have accepted the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice concerning the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court;

* Pages 49-50 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

Noting also that some of those States have assumed this obligation for a period which will shortly terminate:

Requests the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to draw the attention of such States to the measures to be taken, if they consider it proper, in order to renew in due course their undertakings.

Subjects referred to Committee II (Technical Organisations).

FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY.

16. Mr. Jeremiah Smith, Commissioner-General for the financial reconstruction of Hungary, reported that instead of a deficit of 100 million gold crowns, for which the Financial Committee of the Council had budgeted when preparing the reconstruction plan, the Hungarian financial year ended 30th June 1925 had yielded a surplus of 63 million gold crowns. The wealth of the country depended in the main on agricultural prosperity. But harvests since the war had not been phenomenally good—indeed, the yield had been considerably below the pre-war average. At the same time only 60 per cent. of the normal pre-war trade was being done in the country. The successful issue of the financial year was therefore mainly due to the stabilisation of the gold crown, though increase of taxation had been a contributory factor. While the *per capita* figures of taxation in Hungary were only one-third to one-sixth of those in France, Germany, and Great Britain, it had to be remembered that the taxpayers were mainly agriculturists, the urban population being one-fourth only of the total, and that revenue represented 13 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the average income of the population. Owing to the surplus it had not been necessary to draw as anticipated on the reconstruction loan. A balance of 185 million gold crowns remained, of which 30 million gold crowns were to be invested, together with the budget surplus, in capital undertakings for the improvement of railways, posts, telegraphs, telephones, drainage, canals and housing.

17. Much gratification at this satisfactory result of the year's work was expressed in the Committee. The Second Committee's Report is reproduced in Appendix II. The following resolution, proposed by M. Loucheur

(France) as *rapporteur*, was adopted in the Assembly on the 21st September:—

The Assembly notes with satisfaction the rapid progress made in the financial reconstruction of Hungary. In the first year in which the reconstruction programme has been applied, the budget has been balanced and the accounts relating to the period from July 1924 to June 1925 show a considerable surplus instead of a deficit, which would have had to be covered out of the yield of the international loan. Monetary stability is assured, and there is an improvement in the economic situation.

The Assembly expresses its congratulations to the Hungarian Government and the Commissioner-General. It confidently hopes that the reconstruction programme may be brought to a conclusion within the period provided for by the Protocols.

It notes the Hungarian Government's declarations regarding its proposals for reorganising the administrative departments.

It considers that the measures taken by the Hungarian Government with a view to re-establishing freedom of trade are of a kind to encourage the development of the country; it would welcome the conclusion of further commercial agreements between Hungary and other countries—particularly the adjoining countries with which negotiations are in progress—which would tend to bring about a progressive reduction of the tariffs in Central Europe and would thus contribute to establishing closer economic relations.

FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA.

18. Dr. Zimmerman, Commissioner-General for the financial reconstruction of Austria, reported that the Austrian currency had now been stabilised and budget equilibrium secured, not by reduction of expenditure, but by increased taxation. The tariff on imports had been increased, and a new tax on business turn-over had been imposed. The proceeds of the wealth of the States forming the old Monarchy were still to a large extent concentrated in Vienna, where the head offices of banks, etc., possessing interests in the Succession States were housed. Also many nationals of these States resided and spent their money or engaged in business in Vienna. The city was thus re-establishing its position as a monetary and banking centre for Western Europe. On the other hand, the economic situation of Austria was still depressed, partly as a result of general economic depression in Europe, but in particular on account of the high money rates which ruled, the excessive cost of production of goods and the difficulty in regaining lost markets owing to the

high tariffs imposed on foreign goods in the surrounding States. Nevertheless, Austria had been found to be a richer country than had at first been expected. The Council had decided that the financial control of Austria by the League might now be terminated when the audited accounts for 1925 had been published, provided that, among other conditions, a foreign adviser was maintained at the National Bank for three years, and that it would be possible to reimpose control if budgetary equilibrium should be seriously threatened or the securities assigned to the service of the international loan should become insufficient.

19. In the course of the discussions in the Committee and the Assembly the delegations of the neighbouring States of Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and Serbia made sympathetic references to the revival of the prosperity of Austria.

The Second Committee's Report is reproduced in Appendix II.

The Assembly adopted on the 21st September the following resolution:—

1. The Assembly desires to express its satisfaction at the progress made by Austria towards the stabilisation of her finances, as shown in the Commissioner-General's reports and in the declaration made by the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs before the Second Committee. It tenders its congratulations to the Austrian Government and to the Commissioner-General.

2. It is happy to see that the work undertaken by the League is approaching its conclusion and notes the resolutions of the Council and the report of the Financial Committee, which contemplate the speedy termination of the control.

It hopes that the measures which will allow the control to be abolished will soon be realised.

3. The Assembly has further noted the conclusions embodied in the report of the experts (Document C. 440, M. 162, 1925, II) entrusted by the Council with the investigation of the economic situation of Austria.

It hopes that the enquiry to be carried out by the Economic Committee will soon yield positive results.

OTHER FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

20. The report presented by Mr. Samuel (British Empire) on the other work of the Financial Committee of the League is reproduced in Appendix II. The Assembly adopted the following resolution on the 22nd September:—

Assembly Resolution (22 Sept.). 1. The Assembly,

(a) Has learnt with satisfaction that the scheme which was prepared, and partially put

into execution through temporary advances last year, for the settlement of Greek refugees has been realised through the successful issue of a loan, yielding an effective sum of £10,000,000 in Athens, London, and New York, on the basis of the Protocol signed on 29th September 1923 and the Additional Act signed on 19th September 1924;

(b) Notes that, of the 1,200,000 refugees who, on the estimate of the original scheme, required settlement in productive work, over 700,000 have already been settled in agricultural districts or housed in urban settlements near Athens;

(c) Notes with pleasure the reports received that the refugees form an energetic and industrious class, rapidly taking advantage of the opportunities afforded them, and will put to good use the land and materials which it is the work of the Commission to place at their disposal;

(d) Observes that the Settlement Commission thus instituted under the auspices of the League has been able to effect a piece of work which, apart from the benefit to the refugees themselves, should have far-reaching beneficial results for Greece of both an economic and political character;

(e) Expresses the hope that, through close collaboration between the Greek Government and the Settlement Commission, the work may be successfully pursued and brought to a conclusion.

2. The Assembly approves the part taken by the Financial Committee and the Council in the issue of a loan for the economic development of Danzig and for the equipment of the port, under conditions which have fully satisfied all those interested.

3. The Assembly notes the conclusions which have been formulated by the representatives of the Revenue Departments of certain European countries on the problems of double taxation and fiscal evasion. It observes with satisfaction that agreement has been reached on certain common principles, which are expressed in these conclusions, and that a further Conference of Experts is to be convoked in 1926, selected on a larger basis. It hopes that this technical Conference, which for the first time undertakes at the request of the Council the study of a financial problem of universal importance, may be able to submit practical proposals.

4. The Assembly has learnt with interest of the new publications which are in course of preparation by the Statistical Branch of the Secretariat of the League for the use of the Financial and Economic Organisation of the League, and considers that they form a useful contribution to the study of economic and financial problems.

WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

21. Sir Atul Chatterjee was appointed *rapporteur* for the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Committee of the League. His report,

which was adopted by the Second Committee practically without amendment, is reproduced in Appendix II. On the 24th September the Assembly adopted the following resolution:—

Assembly Resolution	The Assembly,
(24 Sept.).	

1. Referring to the resolution of the Fifth Assembly regarding import and export prohibitions and restrictions;

Notes the progress achieved by the Economic Committee during the past year in the study of this complex and difficult question;

Expresses the hope that the draft agreement drawn up by the Economic Committee as a basis of further discussion may receive from the interested Governments all the consideration due to a problem the solution of which would contribute in large measure to the improvement of international commercial relations.

2. Referring to the resolution of the Fourth Assembly concerning the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises;

Declares that the Economic Committee, as a result of the systematic pursuit of its study, has established a series of principles the application of which would ensure an equitable treatment of foreigners in regard to their admission to the exercise of professions, industries and occupations;

Expresses the hope that States may be guided by this body of principles both in regard to their national legislation and in the negotiation of bilateral agreements.

3. Notes that the Economic Committee will be represented in an advisory capacity at the Conference summoned by the Netherlands Government for next October at The Hague for the revision of the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, and reiterates the hope already expressed by the Fifth Assembly, that the amendments proposed by the Economic Committee in respect of unfair competition may receive the support of States Members of the League on the occasion of that Conference.

4. With regard to the protection of foreign purchasers against worthless goods;

Expresses the desire that the investigations undertaken by the Economic Section of the Secretariat be actively pursued with the help of all data that can be obtained from official sources and also of any data which may be supplied by industrial and commercial organisations, in order that as complete information as possible may be collected and published.

5. Follows with interest the studies of the Economic Committee in regard to the suppression of false Customs declarations and the progressive assimilation of laws relating to bills of exchange, and in regard to the enquiry undertaken in collaboration with the International Labour Office and the Financial Committee into the causes of economic crises and of unemployment.

6. With regard to the Convention for the Simplification of Customs Formalities and the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses;

Takes note with satisfaction of such ratifications as have been deposited up to the present;

Considers at the same time that the adhesion of a larger number of States is desirable in order that the beneficial influence of these two international instruments may operate to the fullest extent.

WORK OF THE ADVISORY AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

22. The report of this organisation was largely concerned with special local problems, such as internationalisation of the tributaries of the Oder, the jurisdiction of the European Danube Commission between Galatz and Braila, and the Memel Harbour Administration. Reference was also made to the tonnage measurement of vessels employed in inland navigation and to the international aspect of certain radio-telegraphic questions, for the settlement of which the summoning of an international conference was recommended. During discussion of the report in the Committee special attention was called to the International Conference on Passports, due to be held in 1926. The hope was widely expressed that an advance would be made at this Conference towards the abolition, as far as possible, of the passport system, and of its existing disadvantages for international trade. The following resolution was adopted by the Assembly on the 21st September:—

1. The Assembly,

Having taken note of the report of the Advisory Resolution sory and Technical Committee (21 Sept.) for Communications and Transit (Documents A. 7 and A. 7 (a), 1925, Extract No. 2) on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit between the Fifth and Sixth Assemblies;

Expresses its gratification at the work undertaken and the results obtained by the Advisory and Technical Committee, its Sub-Committees, and the various persons appointed by the Chairman of the Advisory and Technical Committee to undertake special missions;

Associating itself with the resolution adopted by the Advisory and Technical Committee at its last session, considers it highly desirable that the Conventions adopted at the last General Conference on Communications and Transit should come into force as early as possible between the

greatest possible number of States, draws the attention of the Governments concerned to this fact, and reminds them that, should it seem desirable to any of these Governments to obtain, with a view to facilitating ratification or adhesion, any necessary information or particulars as to these Conventions in order to dispel all misunderstandings, the Advisory Committee would be ready to give any assistance which might be required;

Trusts that the European Conference on Tonnage Measurement of Vessels employed in Inland Navigation, which is to meet on 20th November next, will obtain the complete success which can be already expected as a result of the excellent preparatory work of the Advisory and Technical Committee carried out with the full co-operation of the European States not Members of the League;

Draws the attention of all the Governments to the special importance of the Conference on Passports to be held in 1926, which public opinion, particularly in economic circles, undoubtedly expects to take at least a step towards the abolition, to the widest extent possible, of the passport system, and to mitigate considerably the disadvantages and expense which that system entails for the relations between peoples and for international trade facilities;

Follows with keen interest the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit which may result in the convening of a Conference on communications and transit of the European States concerned, with a view to maintain, preserve and, if necessary, adapt to present circumstances, the unification of private law concerning internal transport as applicable to international transport on successive contracts, of the methods of presentation of tariffs and of the method of presentation of operation regulations which were all effected before the war between certain railway systems in Central and Eastern Europe;

In view of the great economic importance which problems relating to the organisation and exploitation of hydro-electric power present for a large number of countries Members of the League of Nations, and in view of the influence which favourable agreements will exercise on the economic reconstruction of Europe and the improvement of the general economic conditions of the world, again draws the attention of Governments and the Organisation for Communications and Transit to these problems, and to the fact that, apart from the question of the ratification of the Conventions concluded at the last General Conference, it is desirable that the competent organs of the League should draw up a definite plan of action for instituting the most practical methods whereby the League of Nations may take as active a part as possible in the solution of these problems;

Convinced that the Members of the League will further the work of the Organisation in every direction, and, in particular, will assist its efforts to arrange for the technical settlement between States of disputes concerning international communications, of which efforts remarkable

examples have been given by the Advisory Committee during the past year:

Invites the Organisation for Communications and Transit to continue its work in the same spirit and on the same lines, with a view to the improvement of international transport and the development of international law in regard to communications.

2. The Assembly,

Considering that all improvements in railway, telegraphic, radio-telegraphic, telephonic and radio-telephonic communications between the seat of the League of Nations and the States Members or non-Members of the League are of the highest political and practical importance to the working and development of the League;

Having taken note of the efforts of the Organisation for Communications and Transit to secure improvements in the railway time-tables affecting communications with the seat of the League:

Calls the attention of the Governments concerned to the necessity for further progress accompanied by an improvement in conditions as regards Customs formalities at the frontiers near the seat of the League. These conditions are still giving rise to the delays and inconveniences to which attention was drawn in the discussions of the last Assembly, and the Assembly requests the Organisation for Communications and Transit to continue to co-operate in the endeavour to achieve such progress;

Associating itself with the resolution adopted by the Advisory and Technical Committee at its last session with reference to the questions raised by the establishment of a new European long-distance telephone system, draws the attention of the Governments concerned to the desirability of treating communications between the seat of the League and the principal European capitals on the same footing as communications between important capitals, when considering the question of priority and urgency for the establishment of different lines:

Recommends that a resolution proposed by the delegate for Uruguay* on the subject of telegraphic facilities for the dissemination of information regarding the work of the League of Nations should be referred to the Organisation for Communications and Transit for consideration and for any action which it may think expedient and possible.

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

23. In para. 23 of our Interim Report we have given a brief account of the discussion in the Second Committee of the

*Draft resolution: "... requests the Conference of the Universal Telegraphic Union, which is now meeting, to consider how far it is possible for the telegraphic administration to further the work of the League of Nations and assist in bringing it to public notice by affording newspapers and journalists who follow the work of the League the widest facilities in regard to rates, approximating as nearly as possible to uniformity, and by considering the improvement of the telegraphic and radio-telegraphic services, which can and should be utilised for the wider dissemination of information regarding the work of the League of Nations."

French proposal for an International Economic Conference. The report adopted by the Committee on the subject is reproduced in Appendix II. The following resolution was adopted by the Assembly on the 24th September:—

The Assembly,

Firmly resolved to seek all possible means of
Assembly Resolution establishing peace through-
(24 Sept.) out the world;

Convinced that economic peace will largely contribute to security among the nations;

Persuaded of the necessity of investigating the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the revival of general prosperity and of ascertaining the best means of overcoming these difficulties and of preventing disputes:

Invites the Council to consider at the earliest possible moment the expediency of constituting on a wide basis a Preparatory Committee which with the assistance of the Technical Organisations of the League and of the International Labour Office, will prepare the work for an International Economic Conference.

The convening of this Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations shall be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council.

HEALTH ORGANISATION.

24. An account of the discussion in the Second Committee of the Report of the Health Committee was given in para. 25 of our Interim Report. We reproduce in Appendix II the report made by M. Velghe (Belgium) on behalf of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation. The Assembly adopted the following resolution on the 21st September:—

The Assembly has examined the report presented by the Health Committee (Document A. 15, 1925, III) on the activities of the Health Organisation and considers that the work accomplished since the last Assembly has been carried out in accordance with the recommendations of former Assemblies and in conformity with the decisions of the Council.

The Assembly notes with satisfaction that this work, thanks to the research and investigations undertaken for the solution of the problems examined, will be of the greatest value to the public health services of different countries.

The Assembly is glad to note that the Governments are more and more disposed to collaborate with the Health Organisation in matters concerning the prevention of communicable diseases and the improvement of the health conditions of the peoples.

The Assembly requests the Council to refer to the Health Committee and to the Economic Committee for their consideration the proposal submitted by the Delegation of the Kingdom of

the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*, and to the Health Committee the proposals of the Delegations of Cuba†, Czechoslovakia‡, France§, Italy||, Paraguay¶ and Venezuela** on the

**Proposal of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.*

"The Second Committee requests the Health Committee to study from an international point of view the measures that might be recommended to Governments, in the interest of public health, for the control of the manufacture of and trade in food supplies."

†Proposal of the Cuban Delegation.

"The Second Committee requests the Health Committee to consider the possibility of organising during the coming year an interchange of technical personnel in charge of institutes of public health and tropical medicine in the countries of Latin America."

‡Proposal of the Czechoslovak Delegation.

"1. In the interest of the economic, practical and efficient organisation of public health services, including national health insurance, the Second Committee requests the Health Organisation to undertake a comparative study of these aspects of health administration in various countries.

"2. In view of the great interest attached to the collection of morbidity statistics, with special regard to the prevention and prophylaxis of disease, the Second Committee requests that the Health Committee, among its other work, should include the study of a uniform international method of collecting information regarding diseases treated in hospitals.

"3. The Second Committee recommends that the Health Committee should insert on its agenda a study of the conditions in which national pharmacopœias might be made comparable as far as possible, in so far as prescriptions relating to the compounding of drugs are concerned."

§Proposal of the French Delegation.

"The Second Committee, having in mind the gravity and the prevalence of endemic and epidemic diseases in West Africa and the international danger arising therefrom, recommends the Assembly to request the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to study the possibility of establishing a sanitary and epidemiological bureau on the West Coast of Africa."

||Proposal of the Italian Delegation.

"In view of the present widespread prevalence of trachoma, which serious disease is one of the most frequent causes of blindness, the Second Committee of the Sixth Assembly recommends:

"That the Health Committee, with the approval of the Council, undertake an enquiry into the prevalence of trachoma in various countries and into the measures that have been adopted for its prevention. Having obtained this information, the Health Committee should be in a position to formulate recommendations and eventually to advise as to the most suitable and effective measures to be applied for the prevention of this disease."

¶Proposal of the Paraguayan Delegation.

"The Second Committee, appreciating the value of the studies undertaken by the Health Organisation to secure the comparability of health statistics, recommends that an expert medical statistician be sent to a certain number of countries, notably in Latin America, to study, in collaboration with the competent authorities of those countries, the sanitary statistical methodology employed therein, with the object of making comparable the health statistics of a still larger number of countries:

***Proposal of the Venezuelan Delegation.*

"The Second Committee, desirous of strengthening the permanent ties which should bind the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to national public health administrations, recommends to each Government the establishment of a special bureau within its health administration, the function of which would be to ensure collaboration between the head of this administration and the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. It is desirable that the personnel of such special bureaux should already have collaborated with the Health Organisation of the League."

assumption that these proposals will not involve any expenditure supplementary to the estimates already submitted for 1926.

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

25. The proposals submitted by the Preparatory Committee for the Ciraolo scheme, which was appointed in accordance with the terms of a resolution of the Fifth Assembly*, were briefly explained in para. 24 of our Interim Report, where we also mentioned some of the objections raised in the course of discussion of the draft Statutes for an International Relief Union proposed by the Preparatory Committee. The speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala delivered in the Second Committee on this subject is reproduced in Appendix III and the report of the Second Committee in Appendix II. The following resolution was adopted by the Assembly on the 24th September:—

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the report of the Preparatory Resolution Committee (Document A. 20, 1925, II), instructed to draw up concrete proposals regarding Senator Ciraolo's scheme for the creation of an organisation of international solidarity between peoples against the calamities which may befall them;

Noting with great interest the Preparatory Committee's proposal to set up an International Relief Union;

Considering that an international institution such as that contemplated in the present instance, and possibly including among its members States not belonging to the League of Nations, should be constituted by a special agreement between the various Governments; that the Fifth Assembly in its resolution of 26th September 1924, laid down that the different Governments should be consulted and that it has not yet been possible for this consultation to take place:

Requests the Council to refer the scheme back to the Preparatory Committee in order that the latter may introduce any modifications which may be called for by the observations put forward in the Second Committee of the Assembly;

Requests the Council to submit the statutes thus revised to the Governments of all States, whether Members or not of the League of Nations, for their formal consideration;

Recommends that the Governments should be requested to communicate their views by a date to be fixed by the Council, in order that the

* Para. 50 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

Council may, if necessary, proceed to the convocation of a meeting of the duly authorised technical representatives of the aforesaid Governments with a view to the conclusion of the necessary arrangements for the definite establishment of the proposed Union, if the Council considers that the replies received are such as to permit the conclusion of an Agreement to this effect.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

26. The Fifth Assembly, when welcoming the acceptance by the Council of the offer of the French Government to found an Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, adopted a recommendation* that the powers and duties of the Institute should be defined by the League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and that the latter should be constituted the governing body of the Institute.

The Second Committee heard M. Luchaire, the newly appointed Director, explain the organisation of the Institute. He stated that the Institute was intended to serve as a bureau of investigation and as the executive instrument of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Its staff consisted of a Director and seven Chiefs of Section, the seven sections being as follows:—Artistic Relations, University Relations, Literary Relations, Information, Bibliography and Scientific Relations, Legal, and General. Some account was given of the work entrusted to the Bibliography and Scientific Relations Section. Its programme would include the international organisation of current analytical bibliography, liaison with libraries throughout the world with a view to the creation of specialised centres for collection of scientific documents, and unification of nomenclature and standards of measures in certain sciences. The University Relations Section would undertake the publication of a University bulletin giving information regarding University courses and arrangements for students, and would study questions of exchange of professors, equivalence of degrees and scholastic terms. The Institute would in all its work maintain the closest relations with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Second Committee learnt with great regret that M. Henri Bergson had been compelled by ill-health to relinquish the chairmanship of that Committee. General approval was expressed

of the scheme of the Institute as set forth by M. Luchaire.

27. The Second Committee also discussed the report prepared by the Secretariat on the progress of instruction of youth in the ideals of the League and the encouragement of contact between young peoples of different nationalities. This report was the result of a resolution adopted by the Fifth Assembly.* It was recommended that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should be asked to undertake consideration of the best method of co-ordinating official and non-official efforts in these matters.

28. The Assembly adopted the following resolutions on the 22nd September:—

1. The Assembly invites the Committee on
Assembly Resolution Intellectual Co-operation to
(22 Sept.) continue its work in the same spirit of prudence and firmness as heretofore; it expresses its satisfaction with the results obtained and, in particular, with the manner in which the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation has been organised.

It notes with pleasure that the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is becoming more and more appreciated and that still greater services are expected of it in the future, and it is happy to observe the response made in numerous countries to the appeals which it has issued on behalf of nations, the intellectual position of which was particularly difficult, and of students and young people, and also with a view to assisting research workers in their task.

2. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that most of the States Members of the League have acted on the resolutions adopted by the Fifth Assembly on the subject of the instruction of youth in the ideals of the League of Nations and the encouragement of contact between young people of different nationalities. It expresses its satisfaction with the report prepared by the Secretary-General on this subject (Documents A. 10 and A. 10 (a), 1925, XII) and considers that the report should be regarded as a first stage.

It therefore invites the Council:

(a) To consider the possibility of requesting all States Members of the League of Nations and non-Members States to keep the Secretary-General informed of the progress made in their respective countries as regards the various points mentioned in the report, and to forward to the Secretary-General all publications on this subject as soon as they appear.

(b) To instruct the Secretary-General to collect the information mentioned above. This information should be communicated from time to time to States Members of the League and to other States interested in the question.

(c) To forward the Secretary-General's report, together with the proposals submitted by the

* Para. 23 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

* Para. 64 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

Chilian, Haitian, Polish, and Uruguayan Delegations*, to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to request it to consider the possibility of summoning a sub-committee of experts to consider the best methods of co-ordinating all official and non-official efforts designed to familiarise young people throughout the world with the principles and work of the League of Nations and to train the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.

The Second Committee's Report is reproduced in Appendix II.

Subjects referred to Committee III (Armaments).

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

29. In the course of the opening debates in the Assembly a widely-felt desire had been manifested, especially

**Draft Resolution presented by the Chilian Delegation at the meeting of the Assembly held on 16th September 1925.*

The Assembly,

Considering that the education of youth in a spirit of concord and international peace constitutes a powerful safeguard for the work of the League of Nations;

And considering that the school can most effectively help to create a new spirit in future generations;

Invites the Council:

To submit to careful consideration the replies already received by the Secretariat concerning the instruction of children and youth in the principles of peace and the ideals of the League of Nations, with a view to convening, if necessary, a Conference of school teachers to study the best means of creating a spirit of world fraternity in schools.

Draft Resolution presented by the Delegation of Haiti at the meeting of the Assembly held on 16th September 1925.

With a view to moral disarmament, the League of Nations invites its Members to undertake as far as possible the revision of their history manuals so as gradually to reduce the number of pages devoted to military events and especially those passages in which wars of conquest are justified and held up for admiration.

Draft Resolution presented by the Delegation of Poland to the Second Committee.

In view of the profound influence which literature has on the education of the great mass of readers in general and of the young in particular, the Second Committee invites the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to consider the question of spreading universally the works of great literary and artistic value of all nations, the spirit of which corresponds to the principles and aims of the League of Nations.

Draft Resolution submitted by the Delegation of Uruguay to the Second Committee.

The Council is requested to authorise the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to appoint a qualified person or persons to prepare documents for use as models or examples for the guidance of members of the teaching profession in explaining the organisation, the aims, and the work of the League of Nations. After being examined and approved by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, these documents will be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.

When the documents in question have received final approval, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will be asked to consider the best means of bringing them to the notice of such Governments as may so request, and of private educational establishments throughout the world.

among the delegates of the smaller European States, that the cause of reduction of armaments should be pursued, if not by means of an early international conference, at least by immediately undertaking a preparatory study of the subject in order that no delay might occur when the time was ripe for the conference.

The draft resolutions proposed by the Spanish, Netherlands, and Hungarian Delegations* were discussed at length in the Third Committee. The divergent views expressed in this discussion have already been described in para. 21 of our Interim Report. The British Delegate, Sir Cecil Hurst, while expressing the sympathy of the British Government with the cause of reduction of armaments, warned the Committee against taking any hasty steps which would imperil the success of the Conference, and urged that it was desirable to leave the Council latitude to take action when they considered the general situation opportune for it. The task of effecting a compromise between the three Resolutions and the opinions expressed thereon was entrusted to a Sub-Committee, the *rapporteur* of which was M. Benes. The report presented by the Committee to the Assembly, which shows clearly the difference of opinion expressed in the Committee on this subject, is reproduced in Appendix II. The resolution proposed by the Committee and adopted by the Assembly is given as the final paragraph of the first Resolution quoted in para. 10 above.

PERMANENT COUNCIL ORGANISATION FOR WORK ON DISARMAMENT.

30. During the discussion upon the subject of the reduction of armaments, as will be seen from a perusal of section II of the second part of the Report of the Third Committee, criticism was directed by several delegates against the constitution and work of the Co-ordination Commission. This Commission had been constituted, in pursuance of a resolution† adopted by the Fifth Assembly on the 27th September 1924, to assist the Council in the work about to be undertaken by it in connection with the reduction of armaments. The Commission consists of the 10 members of the Council sitting as a Committee, assisted

*See para. 6 of this Report.

†Page 28 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

by representatives of the Economic, Financial and Transit Organisations, the Permanent Advisory Commission, the Employers' Group and the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and, if considered advisable, by a number of experts, jurists and others, appointed by the Council. The composition of the Commission was criticised from various quarters on the ground that it was too narrow and excluded representatives of those Governments which did not hold seats on the Council. It was stated, moreover, that representatives of the Workers' Group had complained that they were unable to make their views fully known on certain questions, and the view was expressed that all members of the Commission should be placed on an equal footing, regardless of their official position.

31. In view of these criticisms the Committee proposed the following resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly:—

Assembly Resolution The Assembly,
(25 Sept.).

Takes note of the Council Resolution, dated 3rd October 1924, establishing the Co-ordination Commission;

And invites the attention of the Council to the suggestions made during the proceedings of the Third Committee, as contained in the Report (A. 99, 1925) submitted to the Assembly, with regard both to the designation and the composition of that Commission, and also to the necessity of determining its rules of procedure.

MANUFACTURE OF ARMS, AMMUNITION AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

32. In pursuance of a resolution of the Fifth Assembly* regarding the private manufacture of arms, ammunition and implements of war, this question has been under the consideration of the Co-ordination Commission during the past year. The Commission at its session last February decided to adjourn the drafting of a convention until the result of the Arms Traffic Conference should become known. In the meantime it had undertaken, in consultation with all the organs represented upon it, the preparation of a questionnaire to be circulated to Governments.

The Final Act of the Convention agreed upon at the Arms Traffic Conference held in Geneva in May and June 1925 (at which India was represented by Major-General Sir P. Z. Cox and Colonel Wilson-Johnston) draws attention to the desirability of giving early consideration to the international aspect of the manufacture of arms, etc. Great stress was laid upon this matter during the Conference by the delegates of the "non-producing" countries, who pointed out the injustice to them of the general application of a system of licences and publicity to the international trade in arms so long as the "producing" States were subject to no restrictions whatever, whether of control or of publicity, in regard to the manufacture of arms within their respective territories. The Committee had therefore little difficulty in agreeing upon a proposal of the Delegation of Salvador that the Council should be invited to continue the preparatory work already begun with a view to drawing up a draft Convention to be considered by an International Conference, if possible before the next Assembly. The Report of the Third Committee is reproduced in Appendix II. The following resolution was adopted by the Assembly:—

The Assembly adopts the declaration inserted in its Final Act by the
Assembly Resolution Conference for the Super-
(25 Sept.). vision of the International
Trade in Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War which met at Geneva in May and June 1925, declaring that the Convention concerning the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War "must be considered as an important step towards a general system of international agreements regarding arms and ammunition and implements of war, and that it is desirable that the international aspect of the manufacture of such arms and ammunition and implements of war receive early consideration by the different Governments";

The Assembly invites the Council to continue the preliminary work on the subject of the control of the private manufacture of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, so that a draft convention may be prepared as speedily as possible, and that the Council may summon an international conference to consider it, if

* Page 28 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION REGARDING ARMAMENTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS.

33. The Secretariat of the League publishes a statistical year-book concerning the international trade in arms. The present state of national statistics on the subject prevents the year-book from possessing great documentary value, and the Committee felt that the work would be really satisfactory only when statistical methods and nomenclature had been standardised. This will take place when the Arms Traffic Convention has come into force, but as some delay is inevitable before the necessary number of ratifications has been deposited the Committee considered it desirable that States should adopt as soon as possible the statistical forms given in Annex 1. of the Convention.

The Committee also decided to recommend approval of the work done by the Secretariat in connection with the publication of the Year-Book of General and Statistical Information on Military, Naval, and Air Armaments. The publication of this volume for 1925 has been delayed in order to allow of the inclusion of a number of new countries as well as of data regarding economic resources capable of being utilised for war.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Assembly:—

Assembly Resolution The Assembly,
(22 Sept.).

Taking into account the provisions of the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva on the 17th June 1925;

Considering the advantage to be derived from the standardisation of nomenclature and statistical systems for this trade;

Considering para. 3 of the resolution of the Fifth Assembly, dated the 27th September 1924, in virtue of which "States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations are invited to transmit to the Secretariat all documents which they may deem likely to be of assistance in the preparation of a collection of statistical data concerning the trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war";

Recommends all States, so soon as they may find it possible, to adopt the models given in Annex 1 to the said Convention for their national statistics and for the documents they supply to the Secretariat as data for the preparation of the above-mentioned collection.

The Assembly declares that the Year-Book of General and Statistical Information regarding the armaments of the various countries is of great assistance in connection with the work for the reduction and limitation of armaments,

and it trusts that the Secretary-General will arrange for the continuation and enlargement of this publication on the lines laid down in the Resolution of the Fifth Assembly.

Subjects referred to Committee IV (Budget and Financial Questions).

INTERNAL FINANCE AND FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE LEAGUE.

34. M. Cavazzoni (Italy) was appointed to present a general report on the subjects referred to the Committee, with the exception of certain items for the consideration of which Sub-Committees were appointed, *viz.*, Allocation of Expenses, Contributions in Arrears, and the Building of a Conference Hall. We reproduce in Appendix II the report to the Assembly adopted by the Fourth Committee, in which a very full account is given of its work, and a memorandum supplied by the Financial Director on the financial operations of the League and the action taken thereon by the Sixth Assembly. We have already* commented on the more important questions discussed in the Committee and referred to in M. Cavazzoni's report. On the 26th September the following resolution was adopted by the Assembly:—

1. The Assembly of the League of Nations, in virtue of article 38 of the Assembly Resolution the Regulations for the (26 Sept.). Financial Administration of the League, finally approves the audited accounts of the League for the sixth financial period, ending the 31st December 1924.

2. The Assembly, in virtue of article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League:

Approves, for the financial year 1926, the general budget of the League, of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the total amount of which, including supplementary credits, is 22,930,633 gold francs†;

And decides that the said budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

3. The Assembly adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted to its consideration, and at the same time expresses to the Supervisory Commission its thanks for the services it has so well rendered.

4. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the Report of the Fourth Committee (Document A 124, 1925, X).

* Para. 28 of our Interim Report.

†The budget as presented to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee amounted to 22,930,633 gold francs; the Assembly, in plenary session, reduced from 150,000 to 100,000 francs the credit inserted by the Fourth Committee, by a majority vote, for the Commission of Enquiry on Poppy Cultivation in Persia, thus reducing the total budget to the figure indicated above.

The following table shows, under the main heads, the Expenditure for 1924, the Budget for 1925, the Estimates for 1926 and the Budget for 1926, adopted by the Assembly after examination in Committee IV.

A.—Secretariat and Special Organisations.

PART I.—CURRENT EXPENDITURE.

CHAPTER.	Expenditure, 1924.	Budget, 1925.	Estimates, 1926.	Budget, 1926.
	Gold francs.	Gold francs.	Gold francs.	Gold francs.
I. Assembly and Council Sessions	696,977	1,032,500	1,021,500	1,025,000
II. General Services of Secretariat	5,399,768	6,196,861	6,498,779	6,597,234
III. Special Organisations of the League	3,161,362	4,745,973	4,662,391	4,792,770
IV. Loss on Exchange	1,379,616

PART II.—CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

V. Buildings, Permanent Equipment, &c.	149,825	142,000	166,000	168,000
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B.—International Labour Organisation.

International Labour Organisation :—

Ordinary Expenditure	6,599,732	7,210,595	6,735,438	7,039,938
Capital Expenditure	70,898	130,000	75,000	75,000

C.—Permanent Court of International Justice.

Permanent Court of International Justice :—

Ordinary Expenditure	1,206,453	1,935,081	1,900,401	1,900,401
Capital Expenditure	1,952	3,125	7,290	7,290

D.—Buildings at Geneva.

Buildings at Geneva :—				
Terminable Annuity payable on account of building operations of the League.	1,000,000	1,250,000	1,375,000	1,375,000

E.—Working Capital Fund.

Working Capital Fund	1,729,191	50,000
Total	18,636,442	22,658,138	22,445,302	22,950,633

ALLOCATION OF EXPENSES.

35. A Sub-Committee, of which M. Adatei (Japan) was Chairman and Sir Atul Chatterjee a member, considered the proposals of the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses (Chairman, M. Réveillaud) for the adoption of a revised scale of contributions of Member States to the expenses of the League. An account of the work of the Sub-Committee is given in para. 27 of our Interim Report. The text of the Report adopted by the Committee is reproduced in Appendix II of this Report. When the proposals of the Sub-Committee were discussed in the Fourth Committee

the representatives of Austria, China, and Lithuania, who had already been heard by the Sub-Committee, submitted further claims for the reduction of their contributions. The Committee, however, decided to maintain the proposals of the Sub-Committee. The following resolution was adopted by the Assembly on the 26th September :—

Assembly Resolution (26 Sept.) The Assembly,

1. Requests the Council to ask the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses to follow the economic development of the various Member States with a view to submitting a revised scale to the Assembly of 1929.

2. Approves for the years 1926, 1927, and 1928 the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League annexed to the present Resolution.

SCALE OF ALLOCATION OF THE EXPENSES OF THE
LEAGUE FOR 1926, 1927, AND 1928.

Country.	Units.
Abyssinia	2
Albania	1
Argentina	29
Australia	27
Austria	8
Belgium	18
Bolivia	4
Brazil	29
Bulgaria	5
Canada	33
Chile	14
China	46
Colombia	6
Costa Rica	1
Cuba	9
Czecho-Slovakia	29
Denmark	12
Dominican Republic	1
Estonia	3
Finland	10
France	79
Great Britain	105
Greece	7
Guatemala	1
Haiti	1
Honduras	1
Hungary	8
India	56
Irish Free State	10
Italy	60
Japan	60
Latvia	3
Liberia	1
Lithuania	4
Luxemburg	1
Netherlands	23
New Zealand	10
Nicaragua	1
Norway	9
Panama	1
Paraguay	1
Persia	5
Peru	9
Poland	32
Portugal	6
Roumania	22
Salvador	1
Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom)	20
Siam	9
Spain	40
South Africa (Union of)	15
Sweden	18
Switzerland	17
Uruguay	7
Venezuela	5
Total	937

M. Galvanauskas (Lithuania) renewed in the Assembly his protests against the contribution fixed for his country, and stated that the Lithuanian Delegation would abstain from voting on the resolution.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

36. The situation of the contributions of States Members in arrears was examined by a Sub-Committee (Chairman, M. Barboza Carneiro (Brazil)), which presented a confidential report. As stated in the General Report of the Fourth Committee, the amount of arrears of contribution had been reduced in the last financial period, mainly by payment of arrears of contribution by the Argentine Republic, from 13,000,000 to 5,000,000 gold francs. On the 26th September the Assembly adopted the following resolution:—

Assembly Resolution	The Assembly,
(26 Sept.)	

Having considered the Report (Document A. 181, 1925, X) which was submitted to it by its Fourth Committee:

(1) Decides to approve the settlement of the Argentine Republic's debt;

(2) Expresses its satisfaction with the efforts made by certain Members to pay their debts to the League;

(3) Makes a pressing appeal to Members whose contributions have not yet been paid to take the necessary measures for the settlement of their debts to the League of Nations, and requests the Secretary-General to make further urgent representations to these Members;

(4) Invites the Secretary-General to report to the Council, at its session of June 1926, on the results of these representations, in order to enable the Council to examine the question of contributions in arrears and report to the Seventh Assembly.

BUILDING OF A CONFERENCE HALL.

37. The cost of erection of a new Conference Hall for the Assembly was estimated by the Sub-Committee which considered the question at the Fifth Assembly to be 4,500,000 gold francs. But the jury of architects appointed after that Assembly to advise on the holding of an international competition for designs of the new building estimated the cost to be about 8,000,000 gold francs. The Sub-Committee appointed by the Fourth Committee, of which M. Réveillaud (France) was *rapporteur*, submitted a report recommending that the building and site of the converted Hotel National, at present occupied by

the Secretariat, should, if possible, be sold, and that a new site should be purchased where a Conference Hall and a new Secretariat could be built, leaving sufficient space for the erection of other League buildings if required at any time. As this scheme would be dependent on the sale of the Hotel National, for which tenders had still to be invited, the Fourth Committee, in order that a decision on the action to be taken in the matter should not be delayed until the next Assembly, considered that the necessary credits for the construction of a new Conference Hall and the purchase of a site, and also for extensions of the present Secretariat building which would shortly be required unless it were reconstructed, should be voted by the Sixth Assembly. Meanwhile it was recommended that tenders for the purchase of the Hotel National and site should be invited at once, and that the Council should be asked to determine at its session in December next, after consideration of any tenders received before that date, whether the new Conference Hall should be erected on a site offered by the Canton and City of Geneva, as decided by the Fifth Assembly, or on the new site which the Sub-Committee proposed should be acquired in order to accommodate both a Conference Hall and a new Secretariat building. It was also recommended that the Council should determine the conditions of the international competition for designs of the new building in accordance with its choice between the two alternative schemes. In the course of the discussion an assurance was given to the Indian Delegation that when the conditions of competition for designs of the new building were advertised sufficient time would be allowed for designs to be submitted from all countries before a choice was made.

38. The Assembly adopted the following resolution on the 25th September:—

1. The Assembly approves the report of its ^{Assembly Resolution} Fourth Committee (Document A. 116, 1925, X) (25 Sept.) on the erection of the Assembly Hall and Annexes for the Secretariat, and votes for this purpose a credit of 11,700,000 francs, made up as follows: 8,000,000 for the erection of an Assembly Hall, 2,000,000 for the purchase of the site, and 1,700,000 for the Annexe to the present Secretariat building.

2. The Assembly invites the Council to appoint a Committee to report to the Council, should the building at present occupied by the Secretariat be sold within the period and under the conditions laid down in the Fourth Committee's report, whether any changes as regards the selection of the site and the arrangement of the vari-

ous buildings should be made in the decision adopted in para. 1 of the present resolution.

As a result of the decision that a building fund should be created from the surplus at the end of the financial year derived chiefly from payment of contributions in arrears, which it was estimated would amount to rather more than 10,000,000 gold francs, the greater part of the sum required under the terms of the above resolution will be already in hand when building is begun.

Subjects referred to Committee V (Social and General Questions).

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND DANGEROUS DRUGS.

39. The Report of the Advisory Committee on Opium and Dangerous Drugs, which was considered by the Fifth Committee, contained, among other resolutions, one calling attention to the prevalence of the illicit traffic in drugs, its organised character, and the large financial resources behind it, and urging that Governments should communicate to the League the fullest possible particulars regarding illicit transactions when discovered. Another important resolution, to which special attention was directed by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire), referred to the absence of effective control at Persian ports over exports of opium. We have already referred in para. 26 of our Interim Report to the discussion of this resolution and of the recommendation contained in the Final Act of the Second International Opium Conference that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to visit certain opium-producing countries. The reports of the Fifth Committee on the general question of traffic in opium and on the proposal that a Commission of Enquiry should be sent to Persia, are reproduced in Appendix II of this Report. The Assembly adopted on the 26th September the following resolutions:—

(b) *Appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to visit certain Opium-Producing Countries.*

1. The Assembly,

Having considered the resolution contained in the Final Act of the Second International Opium Conference with regard to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to visit certain opium-producing countries:

Recommends that such a Commission should be sent to Persia to study—

(a) The existing situation with regard to the cultivation of the poppy;

(b) The replacement of a proportion of this cultivation by other crops.

2. The Commission shall consist of not more than three persons to be appointed by the Council: a person having the necessary qualifications to act as Chairman, an expert on the agricultural side of the problem to be nominated after consultation with the International Institute of Agriculture, and a person having experience of business conditions and markets in the East and knowledge of transport problems.

3. The Assembly is of opinion that such an enquiry would require for its work the sum of 100,000 gold francs and decides that this sum be voted for the purpose.

PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

40. We reproduce in Appendix II the report of the Fifth Committee on its discussion of the work of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People. The intervention of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in this discussion has been mentioned in para. 25 of our Interim Report. His Highness's speech is reproduced in Appendix III. The Assembly adopted on the 25th September the following resolution:—

1. The Assembly expresses its approval of the Assembly Resolution work accomplished by (25 Sept.) the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People. It desires, at the same time, to emphasise the view expressed in the resolution of the Fifth Assembly in regard to child welfare that "the League can most usefully concern itself with the study of those problems on which the comparison of the methods and experience of different countries, consultation and interchange of views between the officials and experts of different countries and international co-operation may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with such problems." The Assembly therefore hopes that the Commission will not lose sight of the limits of its competence as thus defined.

The Assembly is also of the opinion that it is desirable that, when collaborating with other organisations of the League of Nations, the Advisory Commission should conform to Resolution 4 of the Fifth Assembly* on the subject of duplication of work.

2. The Assembly,

Considering that the Council, in accordance with a resolution of the Fifth Assembly, invited the Health Organisation of the League to consider any measures within its competence which it would be desirable and practicable to undertake for the protection of children from the hygienic point of view; and

Convinced of the importance of this form of child welfare work:

Decides to request the Health Organisation to investigate infant mortality from the point of view of feeding in infancy;

Requests the Council to instruct the Health Committee to undertake this investigation and to enquire into the advisability of constituting a sub-committee which would be able to call upon the co-operation of specialists in various countries in questions concerning child hygiene and which would be requested to initiate the investigation of this and of any other questions connected with child hygiene the consideration of which might be deemed expedient.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.

41. The Assembly adopted on the 25th September the following Resolution on the work in Constantinople and in Syria of the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East:—

1. The Assembly approves the reports submitted by Dr. Kennedy (25 Sept.) and Miss Karen Jeppe (Document A. 32, 1925, IV). It expresses its high appreciation of the work they and their assistants have accomplished.

2. Whereas the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East set up in fulfilment of the resolutions adopted by the First and Second Assemblies is in practice composed of two distinct missions in Constantinople and in Syria respectively, the Assembly decides that these missions shall be divided and that separate credits shall be voted to Dr. Kennedy for the "Neutral House" at Constantinople and to Miss Jeppe for the protection of women and children in Syria.

3. The Assembly decides that the "Neutral House" of the League of Nations at Constantinople shall continue for another year. Should Dr. Kennedy be unable to continue his present appointment it invites the Council to take all the necessary measures for the continuation of this work.

4. The Assembly decides that, under the supreme control of the Power which holds a mandate in Syria under the League of Nations, Miss Jeppe will continue for another year her work for the protection of women and children. It requests the mandatory Power to continue to give its aid and patronage to Miss Jeppe.

5. The Assembly decides that the sum of 45,000 francs shall be allocated for the work of Miss Jeppe and the sum of 30,000 francs for the work of Dr. Kennedy during 1926.

A report on their work will be submitted by them to the Seventh Assembly.

* Para 42 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

MEASURES TO HELP REFUGEES.

42. With the approval of the Fifth Assembly* and of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the work of the High Commissioner for Refugees for Russia and Armenia was transferred in 1924 to the control of the International Labour Office with a view to its being brought to a close. A credit of 203,000 Swiss francs was voted for 1925. In the last nine months the International Labour Office has succeeded in finding employment for 18,000 refugees. A report of the refugee service of the International Labour Office, was communicated to the Sixth Assembly, in which it was recommended that two additional agencies should be established in South America for finding employment for refugees and that for this purpose 100,000 Swiss francs should be added to the sum of 203,000 Swiss francs already proposed for the Refugee Service in the budget of the International Labour Office for 1925. It was also proposed that a revolving fund of £100,000 sterling should be created by means of an advance from the League to assist the migration of Russian and Armenian refugees. Objection was raised in the Fifth Committee by M. Suvich (Italy) to these proposals, on the ground that they had not yet been approved by the Governing Body of the Labour Office. In spite of assurances from Dr. Albert Thomas, Director of the Labour Office, and of Dr. Nansen, the High Commissioner for Refugees, that the proposals involved no work for which approval had not already been given by the terms of the resolution passed by the Fifth Assembly, and that they were necessary for the continuance of the task entrusted to the International Labour Office, M. Suvich maintained his objections to the proposals being considered by the Sixth Assembly. The scheme was remitted for the consideration of a Sub-Committee, whose report, which was adopted by the Fifth Committee, is reproduced in Appendix II. While recommending a total credit of 303,000 Swiss francs for the Refugee Service, which would enable the two agencies to be established, the Committee proposed that the Council should be invited to convocate an inter-governmental conference to examine the proposal for the creation of a revolving fund. The following resolu-

tion was adopted by the Assembly on the 26th September, the Italian Delegation agreeing to withdraw its objections in order to secure unanimity:—

The Assembly,

1. Having read with great interest the report of the Refugee Service of the International Assembly Resolution Labour Office on the work (25 Sept.), accomplished for the refugees during the first seven months of 1925, indicating the possibility of developing on an extensive scale the placing of refugee workers in employment in various parts of the world:

Wishes to record its deep gratitude to the Governments which have afforded their valuable co-operation in this connection by means of financial contributions or the collaboration of their technical services, or by visa and transport facilities;

Expresses its great appreciation of the work accomplished by the Refugee Service of the International Labour Office in co-operation with Dr. Nansen, and notes the urgent necessity of finding employment for Armenian refugees living in Greece.

2. Taking note of the proposals in the report for the continuation and extension of the Refugee Service and, in particular, of the statement that an additional sum of 100,000 Swiss francs is required for the establishment of two additional agencies of that Service in South America, while recognising that it is an entirely temporary service:

Decides to include in the budget of the International Labour Office for 1926 the sum of 303,000 Swiss francs for the Refugee Service.

3. In view of the fact that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has not yet had an opportunity of examining these proposals, recommends that the report should be submitted as soon as possible to the Governing Body for its consideration, and authorises the Council to enter into negotiations with the Governing Body, if necessary, for determining the measures by which effect can best be given to the report.

4. The Assembly urges the Council to arrange for the convocation of an inter-Governmental Conference as soon as possible for the purpose of examining the suggestions put forward in the report for the creation and administration of a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 sterling to assist the migration of Russian and Armenian refugees, and for effecting an improvement in the present system of refugee identity certificates.

LOAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN ARMENIA.

43. A resolution* was adopted at the Fifth Assembly inviting the International Labour Office, in collaboration with Dr. Nansen, to inquire into the possibility of settling a substantial number of Armenian refugees in the Caucasus and elsewhere. Dr. Nansen visited Armenia with M. Carle (France) and Mr. Dupuis (British Empire), experts in

* Para. 47 of the Report of the Italian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

* Page 41 of the Report of the Italian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

agriculture and irrigation, respectively, under the auspices of the International Labour Office, and ascertained that the Soviet Republic of Erivan was ready to receive, in addition to 10,000 Armenian refugees already established there, a further 15,000 from Greece and Constantinople. A loan of £900,000 sterling was required by the Armenian Republic, of which £600,000 would be spent in irrigation and drainage of certain districts, and £300,000 in the actual settlement there of Armenian refugees. The Armenian Government had offered to guarantee the loan on the security of taxes and revenue from the irrigated and drained lands in question.

44. Dr. Nansen, in the course of an explanation of the scheme in the Fifth Committee, claimed that the Great Powers and the League had, by successive declarations, made themselves morally responsible for the establishment of a national home for Armenians. Moreover, 7,000 Armenian refugees had been transferred from Iraq to the Republic of Erivan by the British Government. He stated that the population of Erivan was 95 per cent. Armenian and that it could be relied upon to carry out its undertakings, in which view he was supported by Dr. Albert Thomas. After statements by M. Carle and Mr. Dupuis on the agricultural, irrigation and drainage aspects of the scheme the Duchess of Atholl (British Empire) expressed the opinion that the technical side of the scheme, particularly in regard to the irrigation projects, required further examination. On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider Dr. Nansen's proposals (the report of which, subsequently accepted by the Fifth Committee, is reproduced in Appendix II), the Assembly adopted, on the 26th September, the following resolution:—

The Assembly,

In view of the resolution adopted by the Fifth Assembly Resolution Assembly at its meeting on (26 Sept.), 25th September 1924, inviting "the International Labour Office, in collaboration with Dr. Nansen, to institute an enquiry with a view to studying the possibility of settling a substantial number of Armenian refugees in the Caucasus and elsewhere";

In view of the reports by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen and by the experts who were sent with him to Armenia;

In view of the fact that these reports are unanimous as to the possibility of carrying out irrigation works which would allow of the settlement in Armenia under good conditions of at

least 15,000 Armenian refugees now in Greece and Constantinople, as also of 10,000 refugees already repatriated, on condition that the sum of about 9,000,000 gold roubles (£900,000 pounds sterling) is forthcoming for the execution of the necessary work;

Desirous of availing itself of every practical opportunity of giving effect to the resolutions so often renewed by former Assemblies, regarding the return of Armenian refugees to a national home:

Invites the Council to appoint at once not more than five Commissioners, whom it would empower—

- (a) To ascertain finally the technical possibility of the proposed undertaking;
- (b) To exchange views, as may be necessary, with the organs of the League of Nations, the Government of the Armenian Republic, and the other Governments, the associations and private individuals whose help would appear useful for the realisation of the scheme;
- (c) If their findings are favourable, to propose to the Council the constitution of a Body of Trustees to whom its statutes would give especially the following powers:—
 - (1) To conclude with all authorities, public and private, all necessary contracts for the execution of the plan for settling the refugees; to accept, if necessary, from the Armenian Government a concession of the areas to be irrigated.
 - (2) To negotiate, if necessary, the issue of a loan; and, in that case, to act as trustees of the funds, and to assure the financial service.

The Assembly invites the Council to place at the disposal of the Commissioners the sum required in 1925 for the execution of the above resolution, this sum to be entered in the budget under unforeseen expenditure.

It decides to enter an item of 50,000 francs in the 1926 budget for the same purpose.

INTERNATIONAL MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION.

45. After consideration of a report, prepared by the Secretariat in accordance with a resolution of the Fifth Assembly*, on the existing facilities for international and municipal co-operation, the Fifth Committee proposed the following resolution on the subject, which was adopted by the Assembly on the 25th September:—

The Assembly,

Endorsing the report on International Municipal Co-operation (Document A. 9, 1925, XII) submitted by the Secretariat in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Fifth Assembly on 20th September 1924:

Decides to call the attention of the different Governments to the advantages which close co-operation, national and international, between

* Para. 53 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

the municipalities, within the strict limits of national sovereignty, presents from the point of view of the aims of the League of Nations;

And requests the Council to authorise the technical organisations of the League to give favourable consideration, so far as they may find it practicable to do so, to requests for assistance or co-operation addressed to them by the various non-official international organisations which deal with municipal questions.

Subjects referred to Committee VI (Political Questions.)

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

46. In virtue of provisions inserted in the various Peace Treaties the following countries have accepted obligations in respect of the minorities of race, religion, and language within their several territories: Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Czecho-Slovakia and Turkey. The following States also made declarations accepting similar obligations upon the occasion of their entry into the League or otherwise: Albania, Esthonia, Finland (in respect of the Aaland Islands), Latvia, and Lithuania. Conventions have also been entered into by Germany and Poland in respect of Upper Silesia, and by Lithuania in respect of Memel Territory. All these undertakings have been placed at various dates under the guarantee of the League of Nations, and a procedure has been gradually elaborated by the Council for dealing with petitions submitted to it by members of the minorities affected. Such petitions, which must comply with certain conditions laid down in a resolution of the Council of the 5th September 1923, are now considered in the first instance, together with the observations, if any, of the interested Government, by a Minorities Committee of the Council, composed of the President of the Council and of two members of the Council appointed by him in each case, subject, however, to the provision that none of the three members shall belong to a State which is directly concerned in the question. The whole subject of the protection of minorities is one of great delicacy, since it may involve the Council in very difficult problems regarding interference with the sovereignty of States in matters of internal jurisdiction.

47. The minorities question was discussed in the Assembly itself and in

the Sixth Committee. The Lithuanian Delegation submitted a proposal envisaging the preparation of a draft convention, to include all the States Members of the League, setting forth their common rights and duties in regard to minorities. It was argued, in support of the proposed Convention, that the present position of the minority guarantees resulted in a serious inequality between the States Members, since the sovereignty of certain States was infringed by their acceptance of obligations from which the majority of States were free. The proposal received little support in the Sixth Committee, and was opposed by several delegates, who pointed out that many States had no minorities, and that it was the result of special circumstances prevailing in certain States that these States were bound by the Treaties and declarations in question. The Lithuanian Delegate finally agreed to withdraw his proposal.

48. The existing procedure for dealing with petitions was also the object of much criticism, and three suggestions for its improvement were made by the Hungarian Delegation. Count Apponyi proposed that petitions from minorities coming from responsible sources should be submitted direct to the Council, that the parties should have the right of being heard, and that any questions of a juridical nature should be brought before the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Committee, however, found these suggestions unacceptable, considering that they were not in accordance with the Treaties and were impracticable or superfluous, and that it was wiser to allow the Council to decide in what cases the matter should be laid before the Permanent Court.

49. As a result of the discussion the Committee decided to approve the procedure set up by the Council, and accordingly proposed the following resolution, which was adopted by the Assembly:—

procedure followed with regard to the protection of minorities (para. VI of Chapter 7 of the Supplementary Report). The Lithuanian representative having withdrawn the proposal submitted by him on 14th September 1925, the Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate to the Council the discussion which has taken place in the Sixth Committee in this connection.

MANDATES.

50. In accordance with the precedent established in previous years, the Assembly referred to the Sixth Committee the reports of the Fifth and Sixth sessions of the Mandates Commission and all other relevant documents on the mandates question.

Certain matters of general interest were referred to by Dr. Nansen when introducing the subject before the Committee. Among these was the question of loans, advances, and investments of public and private capital in mandated territories. The Mandates Commission has had under consideration for some time the means of removing the difficulties in the way of investment of capital in mandated territories which have been caused by a feeling of uncertainty as to the duration of the mandate system. The Fifth Assembly shared the view that the development of the mandated territories was likely to be seriously hindered so long as these difficulties existed, and recommended* that a solution of the problem should be found as soon as possible. Dr. Nansen hoped that any doubts which might still remain would be removed by the resolution adopted by the Council on the 15th September 1925, recognising the principle that the cessation or transfer of a mandate cannot take place unless the Council is assured in advance that the new administration will accept responsibility for all obligations assumed by, and respect all rights regularly acquired under, its predecessor.

51. The Commission having examined the opinions expressed by the Mandatory Powers regarding the possibility of extending special international treaties and agreements to mandated territories, the Council adopted on the 15th September a further resolution recommending that "all States which have concluded special treaties or conventions

with the Mandatory Powers should agree to extend the benefits of such treaties or conventions to mandated territories if circumstances render such extension possible and expedient, and if the provisions of these international agreements are consistent with the regulations of the Covenant and the Mandate". The Sixth Committee decided to propose to the Assembly that it should definitely support this recommendation.

52. Referring to certain matters of detail, Dr. Nansen regretted that but slow progress was being made in reaching a definition of the technical terms employed in the Covenant, the Mandates and the St. Germain Convention in regard to the liquor traffic. He commended the prompt action taken upon a comment of the Mandates Commission by the Australian Government in exempting New Guinea from the coastal trade provisions of the Australian Navigation Act. He also congratulated the South African Government on the peaceful suppression of the disturbance among the Rehoboth community, which, in favourable contrast with the steps taken on the occasion of the Bondelzwarts revolt, had been effected without any bloodshed.

53. The Committee submitted the following draft resolution, which was adopted on the 22nd September by the Assembly:—

The Assembly,
Having noted the reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission on its fifth and sixth sessions, and the documents relevant thereto:

(a) Desires to express its keen interest in, and satisfaction with, the work of the Mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council of the League, in fulfilling the duties devolving on them under article 22 of the Covenant in connection with the application of the mandates system;

(b) Expresses in particular the hope that all the Members of the League of Nations will give effect without delay to the recommendation made by the Council in para. II (1) of its Resolution of the 15th September 1925, concerning the extension of special international conventions to mandated territories.

COLLABORATION OF THE PRESS IN THE WORK OF DISARMAMENT.

54. The value of the Press as an instrument for the promotion of moral disarmament was recognised in a draft resolution submitted by the Chilean

* Para. 42 of the Report of the Italian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

Delegation, which proposed to invite the Council to consider the desirability of calling together a committee of experts representative of the Press in order to determine by what means the Press might contribute towards the organisation of peace. The spirit of the resolution was warmly approved by several speakers in the Committee, who pointed out, however, that it was not desired in any way to infringe the independence of the Press and attempt to influence it by guiding it in any particular direction.

55. On the recommendation of the Committee the following resolution was adopted by the Assembly:—

The Assembly,

Considering that the Press constitutes the most effective means of guiding public opinion towards that moral disarmament which is a concomitant condition of material disarmament:

Invites the Council to consider the desirability of convening a committee of experts representing the Press of the different continents with a view to determining methods of contributing towards the organisation of peace, especially—

- (a) By ensuring the more rapid and less costly transmission of Press news with a view to reducing risks of international misunderstanding;
- (b) And by discussing all technical problems the settlement of which would be conducive to the tranquillisation of public opinion.

SLAVERY.

56. International action for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade was initiated in recent years in the General Act of the Conference of Berlin, 1885, article 9 of which contained a declaration against the traffic in slaves, with particular reference to the Congo Basin. That Act was followed by the more elaborate Brussels Act of 1890, dealing with the suppression of slavery and the slave trade in Africa and in a maritime zone, which covered roughly the north-west portion of the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Further action was taken in 1919, when, by the Convention of St. Germain, five of the 17 signatories of the Brussels Act abrogated as between themselves the provisions of that Act and substituted certain provisions therefor. Article 11 of the Convention, however, which alone dealt

directly with the suppression of slavery, was in fact less comprehensive than the provisions of the Brussels Act.

57. As stated in para. 29 of our Interim Report, the question of the suppression of slavery was first taken up by the League during the session of the Third Assembly. The Secretariat thereupon initiated an enquiry into the subject, the collation of the results of which was entrusted to a Temporary Committee on Slavery. The Committee held its first meeting in July 1924*. At its session in July last it produced an extensive report upon the present position of the question and suggested measures which Governments might take for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade and abuses analogous thereto. The Temporary Committee suggested that an international convention on slavery, which the majority of its members considered desirable, should contain clauses dealing with the following matters:—

Abolition of the legal status of slavery.

Right of pursuit across inland frontiers.

Infliction of the severest penalties on persons who have taken part in a raid or in the transport of slaves.

Creation of a transit dépôt.

Centralisation of information concerning the origin, destination and transport of freed slaves.

Right of pursuit in territorial waters.

The transport of slaves by sea to be regarded as an act of piracy.

Legislation for the suppression of the abuses of peonage.†

Non-recognition of the legal status of predial slavery or serfdom.‡

Prohibition of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services,

*Page 47 of the Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fifth Assembly.

†i.e., the system, known by this name in certain American countries, under which the debtor agrees to work for his creditor until the labour supplied is considered equivalent to the value of the debt incurred.

‡It is difficult to give a precise definition of domestic or predial slavery or serfdom; its variety of forms may range from the most abject servitude to an obligation of service comparable to the vassalage of the feudal system.

and in return for adequate remuneration.*

58. The draft Protocol which, as stated in our Interim Report, was laid before the Sixth Committee by Lord Cecil on behalf of the British Delegation, is reproduced in Appendix II. An examination of the various articles will show that the draft did not embody all the clauses suggested by the Temporary Committee, nor provide to the extent recommended by the Committee for the suppression of certain abuses, particularly those arising from the use of forced labour. Lord Cecil explained that, in the opinion of the British Government, it was preferable to make general, if slow, progress in this important matter rather than to draw up a convention in stringent terms which would fail to obtain general acceptance, and thereby defeat the purpose of the League in regard to the suppression of slavery. He admitted that article 3 of the British draft (forced labour) did not go so far as had been recommended by the Temporary Committee. This, he explained, was because, in the view of the British Delegation, a convention on slavery should confine itself to preventing conditions analogous to slavery arising from the use of forced labour, the regulation of the conditions and remuneration of compulsory labour being a matter within the competence of the International Labour Organisation.

59. The question of the exact relationship between forced labour and slavery and the provisions regarding the former included in the draft Protocol provoked considerable discussion in the Sixth Committee and its Sub-Committees. The Report of the Committee to the Assembly, which was presented by Lord Cecil as *Rapporteur*, is printed in Appendix II. It will be seen that article 6 of the draft finally accepted by the Committee goes beyond article 3 of the draft proposed by the British Delegation in stipulating that in principle compulsory or forced labour should be exacted only for public purposes, and that where in exceptional cases it exists for private purposes it should be brought to an end progressively and as soon as possible, and that meanwhile it should

receive adequate remuneration. Several delegates, however, expressed their profound disappointment with the article even in this form, since it departed from the standard set up in the Mandates and recognised to a certain extent the use of compulsory labour for private purposes. The Committee finally accepted the draft article in realisation of the fact that in the territories of certain colonial Powers the total suppression of this use of forced labour was not immediately possible.

60. Difficulty was also experienced in regard to article 5 of the British draft, which dealt with the suppression of the slave traffic by sea. The Sixth Committee did not find it possible to adopt the suggestion of the Temporary Committee on Slavery that the transport of slaves by sea should be regarded as an act of piracy, or a French proposal that the clauses relating to maritime supervision in the Arms Traffic Convention concluded at Geneva in June should be embodied *mutatis mutandis* in the draft Slavery Protocol. Agreement was finally reached on a provision (article 3 of the draft adopted by the Committee) recognising the value of separate agreements between the Powers directly concerned in the suppression of the slave trade in a particular zone. The resolution adopted by the Assembly invites States to assist one another forthwith by the conclusion of such special agreements.

61. We have already referred in para. 29 of our Interim Report to the two proposals submitted by Dr. Nansen at the last meeting of the Sixth Committee, that provision should be made for the reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice of disputes concerning the interpretation and application of the Convention, and that the attention of the International Labour Organisation should be drawn to the necessity for a study of the conditions of native labour. The text of these proposals is given in the report of the Sixth Committee. Provision had been made in article 7 of the British draft (partial accessions to the Protocol) for reservations to be made in respect of territories not under direct administration. This article was similar to the clause commonly inserted in international agreements concluded by His Majesty's Government, in order to permit of separate

*This suggestion follows the clauses regarding forced labour inserted in the B and C Mandates.

accession thereto on behalf of the Dominions, India, and other parts of the Empire. But it was pointed out in discussion that the clause in the form in which it was drafted permitted reservations in respect of mandated territories, in spite of the fact that Powers to whom mandates have been entrusted are already bound, under the terms of the mandate, to suppress slavery in all its forms and to apply provisions in respect of forced labour more stringent than those proposed in the British draft in the territories held thereunder. Doubts were also expressed as to the desirability of inserting such a clause in a Convention which ought to be of universal application. With a view to avoiding difficulties the Committee decided to follow the precedent established in the Arms Traffic Convention, article 36 of which forms the basis of article 9 of the draft finally accepted by the Committee.

62. The Assembly adopted the following resolution on the 26th September:—

The Assembly,

Considering that the Members of the League of Nations have undertaken, in virtue of article 23 (b) of the Covenant, to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

Having examined the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission (Document A. 19, 1925, VI), which has been communicated to all the Members of the League of Nations; and

Being of opinion that a Convention is the best way of giving effect to the suggestions made in this report and of accomplishing the work undertaken by the League of Nations for the suppression of slavery:

Decides to recommend for approval the annexed draft Convention;

And requests the Council to communicate this draft to all States Members of the League and to such other States as the Council may specify, with a view to the conclusion of a Convention which will be as far as possible in conformity with this draft, and to invite the above-mentioned States:

- (a) To forward to the Secretary-General not later than 1st June 1926 any observations they may desire to make regarding the provisions of this draft;
- (b) To appoint at a later date plenipotentiaries who will meet at the time of the opening of the Seventh Assembly to re-examine, if necessary, the articles of the draft Convention and to sign immediately the text of the Convention which has been agreed upon;
- (c) To make every effort to adopt at once all possible measures in conformity with

the provisions of the draft Convention in question;

- (d) To assist one another forthwith in the abolition of the slave trade, slavery and conditions analogous thereto, by all practicable means and, in particular, by the conclusion of special agreements and arrangements.

Draft Convention.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas the signatories of the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1889-90 declared that they were equally animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the traffic in African slaves;

Whereas the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye of 1919 to revise the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels of 1890 affirmed their intention of securing the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea;

Desiring to complete and extend the work accomplished under the Brussels Act and to find a means of giving practical effect throughout the world to such intentions as were expressed in regard to slave trade and slavery by the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye;

Have decided to conclude a Convention and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:—

* * * * *

Who, having communicated their full powers, have agreed as follows:—

Article 1.

For the purposes of the present Convention, the following definitions are agreed upon:—

1. Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.
2. The slave trade includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition, or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or discharge of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.

Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, or tutelage, so far as they have not already taken the necessary steps:—

- (a) To prevent and suppress the slave trade;
- (b) To bring about progressively and as soon as possible the disappearance of slavery in every form, notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions.

Article 3.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to adopt all appropriate measures with a view to preventing and suppressing the embarkation, disembarkation, and transport of slaves in their territorial waters and upon all vessels flying their respective flags.

The High Contracting Parties further recognise the value of separate agreements between the Powers concerned conferring on their warships, in certain zones in which they may consider the existence of traffic in slaves to be a possibility, special rights enabling them to prevent and suppress the said traffic on vessels flying the flag of any of the Powers which are parties to such agreements. The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to each other agreements which may be concluded for this purpose.

Article 4.

The High Contracting Parties shall give to one another every assistance with the object of securing the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

Article 5.

Those of the High Contracting Parties whose laws do not at present make adequate provision for the punishment of infractions of laws and regulations enacted with a view to giving effect to the purposes of the present Convention, undertake to adopt or to propose for adoption by their respective Legislatures the necessary measures in order that severe penalties may be imposed in respect of such infractions.

Article 6.

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent conditions analogous to those of slavery from resulting from compulsory or forced labour.

It is agreed that :—

- (1) In principle, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes;
- (2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.
- (3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the central authorities of the territories concerned.

Article 7.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to each other and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations any laws and regulations which they may enact with a

view to the application of the provisions of the present Convention.

Article 8.

All the provisions of international conventions of a general character anterior to the date of the present Convention shall be regarded as abrogated, in so far as they relate to matters dealt with in the present Convention and bind in their relations with each other the Powers which are parties to the said Convention.

Article 9.

Any of the High Contracting Parties may declare that its signature, ratification, or adhesion shall not be binding as regards the enforcement of the provisions of certain of the articles of this Convention either upon the whole or upon any of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, or protection.

Any High Contracting Party which has made such a declaration may subsequently and in conformity with the provisions of article 10 adhere unreservedly to the present Convention in respect of any of the excluded territories; it shall endeavour to ensure such adhesion with the least possible delay in respect of all the excluded territories.

Article 10.

The High Contracting Parties shall make every effort to induce other States to adhere to the present Convention.

Such adhesion shall be notified to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and through him to all the signatory or adherent States.

Article 11.

The present Convention, the French and English texts of which shall both be deemed authentic, shall be ratified. It shall bear this day's date.

The instruments of ratification shall be deposited at the office of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall immediately notify the signatory or adherent Powers of such deposit.

The Convention shall come into force in respect of each signatory Power three months after the date on which such Power has deposited its ratification.

Miscellaneous Questions not discussed in Committees.

ELECTION OF NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

63. The following recommendation was adopted by the Assembly on the 24th September :—

The Assembly reiterates the following recommendation adopted unanimously by the Assemblies of 1922, 1923, and 1924 :—

Assembly Resolution
(21 Sept.).

"It is desirable that the Assembly, in electing the six non-permanent Members of the Council, should make its

choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religious traditions, the various types of civilisation and the chief sources of wealth."

64. The election by the Assembly of the six non-permanent Members of the Council was held on the 26th September. The votes obtained by the successful States, which have now been successively elected by three Assemblies, were as follows:—Brazil, 43; Uruguay, 41; Czecho-Slovakia, 35; Spain, 35; Sweden, 34; Belgium, 31. China obtained 26 votes, Persia, 9, and the Netherlands 8.

65. After the announcement of the election the following resolution was adopted by the Assembly on the proposal of M. Zumeta (Venezuela):—

The Assembly,

Noting that the non-permanent Members of the Council at present in office have been re-elected for a year:

Assembly Resolution (26 Sept.).
Considers the meaning of this re-election to be that it is subject to the non-permanent part of the Council being renewed as from the election of 1926 by application of the principle of rotation.

QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF COSTA RICA FROM THE LEAGUE.

66. The Government of Costa Rica, in view of the terms of a letter addressed to it and to other countries by the Financial Administration of the League, reminding them that their contributions to the League were in arrears, had notified to the Secretariat in December 1924 its intention to resign membership

of the League. On the proposal of M. Montigny (France) the Assembly on the 24th September adopted the following resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having learnt that the Republic of Costa Rica has expressed its intention of resigning its membership of the League:

Assembly Resolution (24 Sept.).
Deeply regrets to note the absence of a Member whose participation in the work of the Assembly has been unanimously and highly appreciated;

Expresses the hope that the Government of the Republic of Costa Rica may again find it possible to afford the League its valuable co-operation.

SITUATION IN CHINA.

67. On the proposal of M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China) the Assembly adopted the following resolution on the 22nd September:—

The Assembly,

Having heard with deep interest the Chinese Delegate's suggestion regarding the possibility of considering, according to the spirit of the Covenant, the existing international conditions of China;

Assembly Resolution (22 Sept.).
Having learnt with satisfaction that a conference of the interested States is soon to take place in China to consider the questions involved:

Expresses the hope that a satisfactory solution may be reached at an early date.

General observations.

68. Our general observations on the work of the Sixth Assembly and of the Indian Delegation will be found in paras. 31 to 33 of our Interim Report.

(Signed) WILLINGDON.

BHUPINDRA SINGH,

Maharaja Dhiraj of Patiala.

A. C. CHATTERJEE.

The 30th November 1925.

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APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. Many Delegations were also accompanied by Expert Advisers.)

ABYSSINIA.—His Excellency M. Lagarde, Due d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, Counsellor).

Special Delegation.—Le Négadras Zelleka (Minister for Commerce). Lidj Makonnen Endalkatchou.

Substitute.—Ato Tasfne Tagagne.

ALBANIA.—His Excellency M. Lias Vrioni (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency M. Djemil Dino (Minister Plenipotentiary, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

ARGENTINE.—Not represented.

AUSTRALIA.—The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Cook, P.C., G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London). Brigadier-General E. A. Drake-Brockman, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D., M.P. (Member of the Senate). The Hon. George Swinburne, M.Inst.C.E., M.I.E.E.

Substitute.—Mrs. R. R. S. MacKinnon, O.B.E. (Member of the Senate of the University of Sydney, of the Executive of the New South Wales Red Cross Society and of the Council of the Australian Red Cross).

AUSTRIA.—His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Eméric Pflügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

Substitute and Expert.—Dr. Richard Schüller (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. R. Ramek (Federal Chancellor) and His Excellency M. H. Mataja (Minister for Foreign Affairs) were also present at meetings of the

BRAZIL.—His Excellency M. Afranio de Mello-Franco (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Ambassador on Special Mission, Brazilian Representative on the Council and Head of the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations, former Minister of State, former Ambassador on Special Mission in Bolivia, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, Professor at the Faculty of Law of Bello-Horizonte (State of Minas-Geraes), former President of the Brazilian delegation to the fifth American International Conference at Santiago). His Excellency M. Raul Fernandes (former Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Delegate at the Peace Conference and on the Reparation Commission). His Excellency M. Frederico de Castello-Branco Clark (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Deputy Minister on the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations, former Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

BRITISH EMPIRE.—The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Right Hon. the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, K.C. (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster). The Right Hon. Sir George Dixon Graham, G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G. (Ambassador at Brussels).

Substitutes.—Her Grace the Duchess of Atholl, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education). Mr. Arthur Michael Samuel, M.P. (Minister for Overseas Trade, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., K.C. (Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office).

BULGARIA.—His Excellency M. Christo Kalfoff (Minister for Foreign Affairs and Public Worship). His Excellency M. Michael Madjaroff (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Georges Danailoff (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister, Professor).

Assistant Delegate.—His Excellency M. Svétoslav Poménov (Minister Plenipotentiary, Political Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Public Worship).

Substitute.—M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland).

CANADA.—The Hon. Raoul Dandurand, C.R., C.P., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the King's Privy Council for Canada, Minister of State, Representative of the Government in the Senate). The Hon. Hewitt Bostock, M.A. (Senator, Speaker of the Senate, Member of the King's Privy Council for Canada). The

Hon. Philippe Roy, M.D. (former Senator, Commissioner-General in France).

Substitutes.—M. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations). M. Jean Désy, L. L. L. (Member of the Canadian Bar, Professor at the University of Montreal, Professor "agrégé" at the Sorbonne, Counsellor to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

CHILE.—His Excellency M. Emilio Bello Codesido (former Acting President of the Republic, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador, President of the Delegation accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador at Rome). His Excellency M. Eliodoro Yañez (Ambassador, former Prime Minister, former President of the Senate, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—His Excellency M. Jorge Valdes-Mendeville (Minister at Berne, Head of the Permanent Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes and Experts.—General Pedro P. Dartnell (former General of the Army and Inspector-General). Vice-Admiral Luis Langlois (former Director-General and Chief of the Naval Staff).

CHINA.—His Excellency M. Tang Tsai-Fou (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). His Excellency M. Chao-Hsin Chu (Minister Plenipotentiary, Chargé d'Affaires in London, former Senator, Private Secretary to the President of the Chinese Republic, Professor of Economics at the National University of Peking). M. Wang Tseng-Sze (Counsellor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Relations, Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

COSTA RICA.—Not represented.

CUBA.—His Excellency Dr. José Manuel Cortina (Senator, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin and Vienna). His Excellency Dr. Ramon Zaydin (President of the House of Deputies, Professor of Law at the University of Havana).

Substitutes.—M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). Dr. Ramiro Hernandez Portela (Counsellor of Legation). M. Ruy de Lugo Viña (Delegate in Europe of the Municipality of Havana).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—His Excellency Dr. Eduard Benes (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Stephen Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency Dr. Ferdinand

Veverka (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. Jan Dvoracek (Engineer, Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Economic Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Dr. Jan Kremer (Professor at the University of Prague). M. Rudolf Kunz-Jizersky (Counsellor of Legation in the Political Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DENMARK.—His Excellency M. Herluf Zahle (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). His Excellency M. Frederik Borgbjerg (Minister for Social Affairs, Member of Parliament). M. Laust Moltesen (Doctor of Philosophy, Member of Parliament).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Andreas Oldenburg (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Government Representative accredited to the League of Nations). M. Peter Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, former Minister for Defence, Member of Parliament). M. Holger Andersen (Member of Parliament). M. Georg Cohn (Head of Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Mlle. Henni Forchhammer (President of the National Council of Danish Women, Member of the Board of Officers of the International Council of Women).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—His Excellency M. Angel Morales (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

ESTHONIA.—His Excellency M. Auguste Rei (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Speaker of Parliament). Général Johan Laidoner (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committees for Foreign Affairs and National Defence, former Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Army). M. Adc Anderkopp (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for War). (His Excellency M. C. R. Pusta, Minister for Foreign Affairs, was also present at meetings of the Assembly.)

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Karl Gustaf Idman (Doctor of Law, Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During M. Idman's stay at Geneva, M. Holsti acted as Substitute Delegate.) His Excellency M. Carl Johan Alexis Enckell (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael Waldemar Erieh (Professor of International Law at the University of Helsingfors, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary (unattached), former Prime Minister). His Excellency M. Eino Rudolf Woldemar Holsti (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tallinn, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Jaakko William Keto (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Hugo Valvanne (Head of the Finnish Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).

FRANCE.—*President of Honour of the Delegation.*—His Excellency M. Léon Bourgeois (Senator, former Prime Minister, former President of the Senate).

Delegates.—His Excellency M. Paul Painlevé (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Prime Minister, Minister for War). His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Paul Boncour (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Advisory Committee of the Higher Council for Defence).

Substitutes.—M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister). M. Henry do Jouvenel (Senator, former Minister). M. Jules Pams (Senator, former Minister).

Assistant Delegates.—M. Montigny (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Marcel Plaisant (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Nogaro (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Léon Jouhaux (Secretary-General of the General Labour Confederation). M. René Cassin (Professor at the Faculty of Law at Lille, Honorary President of the Federal Union of the Mutilated and Former Combatants).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. Constantin Rentis (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Georges Cofinas (Finance Minister). His Excellency M. Alexandre Carapano (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jean Papa (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Vassili Dendramis (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne).

GUATEMALA.—His Excellency Dr. Adrian Recinos.

HAITI.—M. Frédéric Doret (Engineer, Higher School for Mining in Paris).

HONDURAS.—Not represented.

HUNGARY.—His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (former Minister). His Excellency M. Louis Walko (Minister for Commerce, in charge temporarily of Foreign Affairs). General Gabriel Tanczos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Alexis de Nagy (Resident Minister). M. Georges de Barcza (Counsellor of Legation). M. Edmond Pétery (Assistant Under Secretary of State).

INDIA.—The Right Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E. (former Governor of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras). Major-General His Highness the Maharaja Dhiraj of Patiala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C. (Member of the Chamber of Princes). Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, K.C.I.E. (High Commissioner in London).

Substitute.—Sir Edward Maynard Deschamps Chamier, K.C.I.E. (Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for India).

IRISH FREE STATE.—Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Minister for External Affairs). Mr. Kevin O'Higgins (Minister for Justice). Mr. Diarmuid O'Hegarty (Secretary to the Executive Council).

Substitute.—Mr. Michael MacWhite (Representative of the Irish Free State accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute and Secretary.—Mr. Joseph P. Walshe (Secretary at the Ministry for External Affairs).

ITALY.—His Excellency M. Vittorio Scialoja (Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dino Grandi (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Francesco Coppola (Publicist).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Stefano Cavazzoni (former Minister for Labour, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). General Alberto de Marinis Stendardo di Rigigliano (Senator). Count Antonio Cippico (Senator). M. Giovanni Cirnola (Senator). Professor Ernesto Belloni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Marquis Giuseppe Medici del Vascello (Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Albert Lutrario (Prefect). M. Luigi Parodi (Barrister). M. Pilotti (Member of the Court of Appeal).

JAPAN.—His Excellency Viscount K. Ishii (Ambassador to France, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Minéitcero Adatei (Ambassador to Belgium, Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan). His Excellency M. M. Matsuda (Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Japanese Office accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Matsuzo Nagai (Minister in Sweden). M. H. Kawai (Counsellor of Embassy at Brussels). M. Y. Sugimura (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Head of the Japanese Office accredited to the League of Nations).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Wilis Schumans (Minister at Rome). His Excellency M. Frīdrihs Vesmans (Minister in London). M. Charles Duzmans (Permanent Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

LIBERIA.—His Excellency Baron Rodolphe Auguste Lehmann (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

Substitute.—M. Nicolas Ooms (First Secretary of Legation in Paris).

LITHUANIA.—His Excellency M. Ernest Galvanauskas (Minister in London, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Dovas Zauzius (Minister at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). Professor Ignace Jonynas (Head of Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LUXEMBURG.—His Excellency M. Pierre Pruem (Minister of State, Prime Minister). M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Jonkheer J. Loudon (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden). His Excellency Count F. A. C. van Lynden van Sandenburg (Doctor of Law and Political Science, former Government Commissioner in the Utrecht province, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States General, Grand Chamberlain of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands). (During M. van Karnebeek's stay at Geneva, M. van Lynden van Sandenburg acted as Substitute Delegate).

Substitutes.—M. J. Limburg (Doctor of Law, President of the Order of Barristers at The Hague, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States General, Member of the Executive Committee of the States Provincial of Southern Holland). M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam).

NEW ZEALAND.—Col. the Hon. Sir James Allen (High Commissioner in London).

Substitute.—Mr. J. D. Gray (Secretary, External Affairs and Cook Islands Departments).

NICARAGUA.—Dr. Antoine Sottile (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.—His Excellency M. Joh. Lud. Mowinckel (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). (During M. Mowinckel's stay at Geneva, M. Michelet acted as Substitute Delegate.) Dr. Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Oslo). His Excellency M. Otto Albert Blehr (former Prime Minister). M. Christian Frederik Michelet (Barrister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union). Dr. Mikael H. Lie (Professor of Law at the University of Oslo). Madame Martha Larsen Jahn.

PANAMA.—His Excellency M. Narciso Garay (Minister Plenipotentiary in Cuba and Mexico).

PARAGUAY.—Dr. Ramon V. Caballero (Chargé d'Affaires in Paris).

PERSIA.—His Highness Prince Arfa (Mirza Riza Khan) Ambassador, former Minister for Justice, Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute.—Dr. Edmond Privat (Honorary Adviser).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—M. Abol-Hassan Khan Hekime (Head of the Permanent Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).

PERU.—Not represented.

POLAND.—His Excellency Count Alexandre Skrzynski (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. François Sokal (Minister for Labour and Social Assistance, Government Delegate on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office). His Excellency M. Gaëtan D. Morawski (Resident Minister accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. Jean Debski (Member of the Diet, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee). M. Stanislas Kozicki (Member of the Diet). M. Mieczyslas Niedzialkowski (Member of the Diet). His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. Roman Knoll (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Angora). M. Léon Babinski (Counsellor of Legation, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PORTUGAL.—His Excellency Dr. Affonso Augusto da Costa (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Prime Minister). His Excellency Dr. Auguste Cesar de Vasconcellos (Minister Plenipotentiary, Member of the Senate, former Prime Minister, Head of the League of Nations Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency General Alfredo Freire d'Andrade (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Governor of Mozambique).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—His Excellency Dr. Antonio Maria Bartholomeu Ferreira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

Substitute.—Dr. Rodrigo Rodrigues (former Minister for the Interior, former Governor of Macao).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Jean G. Duca (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Professor at the University of Bucharest, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations, former Finance Minister). His Excellency M. Nicolas Petresco Commène (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations). (On the departure of His Excellency M. Jean G. Duca and His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco, Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco and M. Mircea Djuvara were appointed Delegates).

Substitutes.—M. Mircea Djuvara (Professor at the University of Bucharest, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco. M. Sextil Puscariu (Professor at the University of Cluj).

Assistant Delegate.—His Excellency M. Constantin Contzesco (Minister Plenipotentiary, Roumanian Delegate on the Danube Commission).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

SAN DOMINGO.—Not represented.

SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, KINGDOM OF THE.—His Excellency Dr. Momtchilo Nintehitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Miloutine Yovanovitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency Dr. Lazare Mareovitch (former Minister).

Substitutes.—Dr. Stéphan Raditch (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). Dr. Vassiliyé Yovanovitch (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Ranislav Avramovitch (former Assistant to the Minister for Communications).

Assistant Delegates.—Dr. Milorad Straznieli (Professor at the University). M. Youray Krnjévitch (Under Secretary of State at the Ministry for Social Questions).

SIAM.—His Excellency Phya Prabha Karawongse (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Serene Highness Prince Vipulya Svastivongs (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen).

SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. Jacobus Stephanus Smit (High Commissioner in London). Mr. Charles Isaac Pienaar (Commissioner for Commerce for the Union of South Africa on the Continent of Europe).

SPAIN.—His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Ambassador in Paris, Spanish Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Emilio de Palacios (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Cristóbal Botella (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Spanish Embassy in Paris, President of the Franco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal). His Excellency M. Eduardo Cobián (former Under Secretary of State for Finance). M. Leopoldo Palacios-Morini (former Under Secretary of State for Finance, Professor). M. José Yanguas Messia (Professor at the Central University).

SWEDEN.—His Excellency Dr. M. B. Osten Undén (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Jonas Eliel Löfgren (Barrister, Member of the

Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for Justice). M. Axel Fredrik Vennersten (Member of the Senate, former Finance Minister).

Substitutes.—Dr. Torvald Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. A. E. M. Sjöborg (Envoy and Extraordinary Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). Mme. Aina Bugge-Wicksell (Master of Law). M. J. A. Engberg (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Federal Councillor, Head of the Federal Political Department). Colonel Bent Henri Bolli (Member of the Council of States). M. Emile Louis Gaudard (National Councillor).

Substitute.—M. Walther Burekhardt (Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Berne).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency M. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Representative of Uruguay on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Benjamin Fernandez y Medina (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Spain, former Under Secretary of State). M. Juan Antonio Buero (Senator, former President of the Senate, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). (M. Enrique Buero replaced M. Juan Antonio Buero from 21st September.)

Substitute.—M. José G. Antuna (former Deputy).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency M. César Zumeta (former Senator, former Minister for the Interior, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome). His Excellency M. Diogenes Escalante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency M. Caracciolo Parra-Pérez (Special Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Federal Council, Chargé d'Affaires in Berne).

Substitute.—M. Salustio Gonzalez-Rincones (Secretary to the Special Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Federal Council).

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—Report of the First Committee on the draft Resolutions submitted to the Assembly by the Spanish and Swedish Delegations and a proposal made by the Delegate of Japan regarding the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. (Rapporteur: M. Henri Rolin, Belgium.)

The First Committee has approved the following report of its Second Sub-Committee and proposes the conclusions of this report for adoption by the Assembly:—

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

Your Second Sub-Committee was instructed by the plenary Committee to examine the draft resolutions submitted to the Assembly by the Spanish and Swedish Delegations and the proposal made in the Committee itself by His Excellency M. Adatci, the Delegate of Japan.

The Sub-Committee has itself taken cognisance of a proposal of the Delegate of Belgium which was connected with the same train of ideas.

These various proposals are inspired by similar considerations. At the moment when the declarations of certain Governments have shown that an early entry into force of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes is not to be expected, several delegations have been anxious to affirm the fidelity and unanimity with which the Members of the League remain attached to the triple object underlying that draft treaty, namely, arbitration, security and disarmament, and to indicate methods or measures by which an approach might be made to this object, pending the achievement of a general settlement which many consider indispensable.

The first proposal submitted, and the more general proposal, is that of the Spanish Delegation. It does not contain a mere affirmation of principle. Emphasising the desirability of the conclusion of treaties of mutual security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant and in harmony with the principles of the Protocol, this proposal indicates the possibility of extending such a system to the whole world and asks that the Council of the League of Nations shall report to the Seventh Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements. Finally, a last paragraph deals with disarmament.

Your Sub-Committee has agreed with the Sub-Committee of the Third Committee that the examination of the part of the Spanish proposal which deals with disarmament shall be left entirely to the latter body. The rest of the proposal has been unanimously approved with the two following amendments.

In the first place, your Sub-Committee felt it should slightly modify the drafting of para. 3 of the proposed resolution. The conception that war of aggression is an international crime has unfortunately not yet passed completely into the domain of positive law. Your Sub-Committee felt that it was giving expression to the unanimous feeling of the delegations in declaring that every effort should be made to cause this conception to become a real legal principle clearly formulated and enforced by sanctions.

In the second place, your Sub-Committee has felt it desirable to indicate that arbitration conventions, no less than security treaties, deserve to be considered with favour by the League of Nations, if they are in conformity with the principles of the Covenant and of the Protocol.

Accordingly the Sub-Committee recommends the adoption of the Spanish proposal in the following form:—

Draft Resolution.

The Assembly,

Taking note of the declarations submitted to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations in respect of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and of the fact that the said Protocol has not up to the present received the ratifications necessary for putting it into operation immediately;

Convinced that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations;

Declaring afresh that a war of aggression should be regarded as an international crime;

Regards favourably the effort made by certain nations to attain those objects by concluding arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Protocol (arbitration, security, disarmament);

Records the fact that such agreements need not be restricted to a limited area but may be applied to the whole world;

Recommends that, after these conventions and treaties have been deposited with the League of Nations, the Council should examine them in order to report to the Seventh Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements;

Undertakes again to work for the establishment of peace by the sure method of arbitration, security and disarmament; . . .

[Last paragraph as drafted by the Third Committee.]

The proposal of the Swedish Delegation requesting the Council to submit to examination by a Committee of Experts the provisions concerning compulsory arbitration contained in the Protocol recommended by the Fifth Assembly is more

particularly concerned with the idea of arbitration.

As M. Uden pointed out at the Assembly and M. Loefgren in the Committee, the intention was to emphasise without in any way modifying the position of the problem of security and disarmament, that development of the principle of compulsory arbitration was desirable in itself and realisable in abstraction from other questions.

Your Sub-Committee respects the intentions which inspired the Swedish proposal, but it felt that this proposal might lead to misunderstanding. It was important to avoid anything which seemed necessarily to imply reopening discussion upon an isolated part of the Protocol, and on the other hand it appeared unwise to decide in advance that the best way of encouraging the development of compulsory arbitration was to draw up and submit for acceptance by the various nations a general and uniform system of procedure. It is impossible, moreover, to ignore the fact that a very large number of conventions for arbitration or judicial settlement have in recent years been concluded between various Members of the League of Nations, and it seemed indispensable that it should be possible to study these conventions as a whole without prejudging the conclusions to which such study might lead. For these reasons the Sub-Committee, with the full agreement of the Swedish Delegation, felt that the essential aim of the Swedish proposal would be better attained by the acceptance of the more general proposal which His Excellency M. Adatei, Delegate of Japan, had submitted.

The latter proposal deals not merely with compulsory arbitration, properly so called, but also with conciliation, the importance of which has been frequently recognised by earlier Assemblies, whether as a preliminary to arbitration or to judicial settlement or as a subsidiary means of settling disputes which were not submitted to any jurisdiction.

The Japanese proposal aims at obtaining from the Council, with a view to the next Assembly, a study not theoretical merely but above all practical, of the whole problem of pacific settlement of international disputes, so that, taking account of the statements made by various States during the Assembly's present session and of any agreements concluded in the interval, the Seventh Assembly may have before it a report as to the progress which can be made in this vast subject.

The Japanese proposal was adopted in the following form:—

Draft Resolution.

The Assembly,

In view of the importance of making a thorough study of the views which have been expressed in the Assembly and the Council on the subject of pacific settlement of international disputes;

Convinced that such study will contribute to the development of a system of pacific settlement of international disputes:

Requests the Council to submit to careful examination the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the Assembly and the

Council with a view to pacific settlement of international disputes, and to report to the Seventh Assembly upon the progress which can be made in this matter.

The Belgian proposal also belongs to the domain of compulsory arbitration.

At a moment when compulsory arbitration in the most general sense has been accepted in a large number of particular conventions, the Belgian Delegation thought it desirable to promote this development by calling the attention of States to the advantages from the point of view of their security which may be attained by concluding such conventions, in consequence of the guarantees afforded by the Covenant.

The Covenant itself, in article 21, clearly indicates that arbitration conventions have their proper place in the working of the League of Nations, for it states that nothing in the Covenant shall be deemed to affect their validity.

Your Sub-Committee has unanimously considered that, at a moment when the League of Nations was obliged to postpone putting into force a general convention absolutely prohibiting aggressive war, there were real advantages in emphasising the fact that Members of the League might endeavour to attain this result by way of arbitration conventions; and that such agreements were placed in strict law under the general guarantees of the Covenant.

The above were the reasons for which the Belgian draft resolution was adopted in the following form:—

Draft Resolution.

The Sixth Assembly,

Reserving the question whether it is at present desirable to embody in a new general Convention the provisions concerning compulsory arbitration contained in the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes;

Recalling the guarantees provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations:

Calls the attention of States Members of the League to the desirability, from the point of view of their security, of concluding particular conventions for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes.

Finally, as regards the proposal made by the Delegation of Uruguay on the subject of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, it appears, from the declarations made by the Delegate of Uruguay, at the last meeting of the First Committee, that, in view of the opinions which have been expressed, his delegation does not desire that its proposal should be discussed at the present moment. The delegation reserves the right to renew the proposal at a suitable moment. The Assembly will doubtless in these circumstances consider it unnecessary to engage in an examination of the subject. In these conditions it is obvious that the Uruguayan proposal will not be included among the proposals, declarations and suggestions referred to in the draft resolution adopted on the initiative of the Japanese Delegation. The same is true of the Danish proposal, which has been adjourned to a subsequent Assembly.

ANNEX II.—Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Economic Committee. (Rapporteur: Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, India.)

1. Since September 1924 the Economic Committee has held three sessions and, in the course of the deliberations of the Committee itself and the Sub-Committee that it has constituted, assisted by the loyal and efficient services of the Secretariat, the consideration of the various questions in the purview of the Committee has been appreciably advanced. The valuable report which it has presented to the Sixth Assembly displays the comprehensive character of its work, the importance for the economic life of all nations of the questions which it has examined, and the great care and ability with which it has investigated the problems presented to it. Before proceeding to a survey of the year's work of the Committee, I would draw attention to one gratifying aspect of its activities—its co-operation with other organisations outside as well as inside the League. In the course of its work the Committee has collaborated, or will collaborate, not only with the International Labour Organisation and the Finance Committee, but also with the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Institute of Statistics, the International Parliamentary Conference on Commerce, and other similar organisations. The Netherlands Government has paid a notable tribute to its position and authority in stating that it attaches great importance to the participation of the Committee in the forthcoming conference at The Hague on the Protection of Industrial Property. The Assembly, I am sure, will endorse the expression by the Second Committee of its appreciation of the industry and ability with which the Economic Committee has pursued its investigations and of the valuable results that have been achieved. It should be borne in mind that, even in cases where States Members of the League have not found it feasible to adopt forthwith the suggestions and recommendations of the Committee, they are being accepted as a standard to be gradually attained in the settlement of questions pertaining to international commerce and economic relationships.

ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

2. The most important work of the Economic Committee during the past year has been the consideration of the question, referred to it in pursuance of a resolution of the Fifth Assembly, of the removal of such import and export prohibitions and restrictions as are not necessary for the protection of the vital interests of States. It is unnecessary for me to emphasise the desirability of reaching a satisfactory solution of this problem in the interests of the freedom and development of international commerce, or to dwell on the delicate and difficult considerations with which it is surrounded. The Economic Committee, assisted by the replies of Governments to an enquiry circulated to them since the Fifth Assembly and by consultation with experts of certain European countries which are specially interested in the problem, has devoted much

time and thought to the many conflicting aspects of the whole question. It has addressed itself to the preparation of a careful analysis of the exceptions which may reasonably and legitimately be made to a total abolition of restrictions on imports and exports. The Committee has borne in mind the necessity of avoiding a two-fold danger, on the one hand of creating opportunities for evasion of a general agreement by a list of exceptions too numerous or vaguely worded, and on the other of drawing up an agreement too strict to secure general adhesion to its provisions. Considerable progress has been made by the Committee in this regard, and it has now succeeded in drawing up a list of exceptions which it has embodied in the provisional text of a draft agreement for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions. Arrangements of a purely tariff nature are not included in the prohibitions and restrictions covered by this agreement. At the same time, the Committee has not been oblivious of the danger that prohibitions or restrictions might merely be replaced by prohibitive tariffs. It is proposed that the draft articles should be circulated for the consideration of Governments, who will naturally consult important commercial bodies. Opportunity will also be taken to obtain the views of international commercial organisations. On the observations received will depend the determination of the further procedure to be followed.

TREATMENT OF FOREIGN NATIONALS AND ENTERPRISES.

3. The second important problem which has occupied the attention of the Economic Committee has been that of the treatment of foreign nationals and enterprises. The Committee has already in the past dealt with the fiscal treatment of foreigners, and its recent enquiry, from which the question of immigration has been excluded, has been confined to the rights of foreigners to exercise any profession, industry or occupation in a country to which they have been legally admitted, together with their freedom of residence and travel within the country. The Economic Committee has made a detailed and valuable study of the classes of occupations relevant to its enquiry, and has considered in particular the difficult question of the correlation of the various national standards in the case of those professions for entry into which a standard of qualification or training is imposed. The valuable suggestions of the Committee on this question of the equivalent of standards deserve careful attention. The report of the Committee furnishes an illuminating and exhaustive review of the various considerations that should guide a State in determining the limits of the restrictions that can be justifiably imposed on foreigners in the exercise of various professions and industries in the country of their sojourn. The Committee has attached due importance to the natural desire that will be felt by every State of securing reciprocal treatment in this regard for its own nationals in other States.

The recommendations of the Committee on the vexed question of discrimination between foreigners on the ground of nationality deserve, in my opinion, careful attention.

The Economic Committee has summarised the conclusions of its study in a series of recommendations which have been accepted by the

Council on 10th June 1925, and have already been communicated to the States Members of the League. The Second Committee would recommend their adoption by the Assembly.

ECONOMIC CRISES.

4. It will be observed that, in the further examination of the problem of the causes of economic crises and their effect on employment—a problem as difficult and intricate as it is important—the Joint Committee, consisting of representatives of the Economic Committee and of the International Labour Organisation, had the valuable advantage of the direct co-operation of three eminent representatives of the Financial Committee. The Joint Committee was wise in inviting this collaboration since the problems discussed were on the border-line of the provinces of the two Committees. At its latest meeting, the Joint Committee has reiterated the recommendations of the Financial Committee of the Genoa Conference of 1922. It has examined the connection between the control of credit facilities and excessive fluctuations in trade activity. It recommends the improvement and extension of the available data as to economic conditions, and suggests an early investigation of the best methods of preparing "economic barometers" and the examination of their international comparability. Upon the suggestion of the Joint Committee, the Economic Committee has instituted an enquiry into the question of the stabilisation of prices and the connected economic problems. This enquiry will be extensive, as the report will embrace such important points as the influence exercised on the course of prices by tariff policy, taxation, methods of distribution, conditions of production and various other temporary and permanent factors. The results of this enquiry, which are bound to be valuable, will be laid before the Mixed Committee at its next session.

UNIFICATION OF METHODS IN ECONOMIC STATISTICS.

5. The Economic Committee has continued its co-operation with the International Institute of Statistics in the study of the question of the unification of methods in economic statistics. The Preparatory Committee, which includes four experts nominated by the Economic Committee, has drawn up reports on the classification of industries on stocks of primary products and on the census and statistics of industrial production for the consideration of the Institute at its approaching meeting. The programme of work has, however, not yet been completed and, in view of the valuable results which may be expected, the Second Committee supports the recommendations of the Economic Committee that it be instructed to continue its collaboration with the Preparatory Committee during the coming year in the study of the outstanding questions of its programme.

CUSTOMS FORMALITIES CONVENTION: FALSE CUSTOMS DECLARATIONS.

6. The Second Committee is glad to note that the Geneva Convention on the Simplification of Customs Formalities, which came into force on 27th November 1924, has now, in addition to the adhesion of Persia, been ratified by 13 out

of the 37 signatory Powers. The Committee would urge the desirability of an early ratification of the Convention by the remaining States in order that the Convention may receive the widest possible application.

7. The question, envisaged by the Convention, of the suppression of false declarations in Customs matters has been further examined by the Economic Committee since the Fifth Assembly. National legislation in the various countries differs widely in the treatment and punishment of false declarations, and two alternative proposals have been evolved by the Economic Committee for the co-operation of States in this matter. The Second Committee hopes that, when legal and expert opinion on these proposals has been obtained, it will be possible for the Economic Committee to submit a definite scheme for dealing with an abuse in the suppression of which all States are interested.

COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION.

8. The Protocol on Commercial Arbitration, which was opened for signature during the session of the Fourth Assembly, has been signed up to the present by 25 States and ratified by 10. The Economic Committee in its report draws attention to a widespread desire among commercial organisations for a more general adoption of the Protocol on Arbitration and for an investigation of the possibility of international action towards ensuring the execution of awards of arbitral tribunals made in another country.

As regards the first point, the Economic Committee rightly observes that a State Member is more likely to accept the Protocol and apply it in practice if it finds the commercial community of the country anxious that this should be done in the interest of internal as well as external trade. The Second Committee expresses the hope that propaganda will be undertaken in this regard by the various national and international Chambers of Commerce. It further notes with approval that the Economic Committee proposes to undertake an examination at an early opportunity of the difficult problem of the execution of arbitration awards made in a foreign country.

UNFAIR COMPETITION: PROTECTION OF BUYERS AGAINST WORTHLESS GOODS. BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

9. The Second Committee notes with satisfaction that the Economic Committee has nominated three representatives to assist in the work of the approaching Conference at The Hague (to which I have referred above) for the revision of the Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property. It would remind the Assembly of the resolution of the Fifth Assembly expressing the hope that the States Members of the League would support at the Conference the proposals made by the Economic Committee for the amendment of the Convention with a view to more effectual protection against unfair competition.

10. In its study of the problem of protecting foreign consumers against worthless goods, the Economic Committee is proceeding with the documentation of the measures already existing or about to be introduced in the various countries for the certification of the quality of goods.

The Second Committee is anxious that these investigations should be actively pursued, and expresses the hope that the States which have not yet done so will supply the Economic Committee with the necessary information at an early date.

In this connection, it observes that this documentation may also be of considerable interest with regard to the request addressed to the Health Organisation with a view to the study of the question of regulating the trade in foodstuffs affecting human health.

11. It has, finally, resumed the study, undertaken in 1923, of the legislation governing bills of exchange, with a view to the progressive assimilation of the laws of the various countries on this subject.

The brief résumé given above affords some idea of the many activities of the Economic Committee. The members of the Committee have brought to their strenuous though interesting work ripe knowledge and experience as well as wisdom and foresight. It is not necessary to dwell on the prestige and authority that they have secured throughout the world for their own Committee and for the League in the solution of vital economic problems of an international character. The Second Committee wishes to repeat its acknowledgments to the Economic Committee for its valuable work during the year and for a lucid and inspiring report. The Second Committee feels confident that the Assembly will endorse this tribute.

ANNEX III.—*Report by the Second Committee on the proposal of the French Delegation to invite the Council to set up a Preparatory Committee with a view to the subsequent convening of an International Economic Conference. (Rapporteur: M. Belloni, Italy.)*

The Sixth Assembly referred for examination to the Second Committee a proposal by the French Delegation to invite the Council to set up a preparatory committee with a view to the subsequent convening of an International Economic Conference.

Nearly all the members of the Second Committee took part in the discussion of this proposal, the debate dealing with the question both of principle and procedure.

Those delegates who spoke were unanimously of the opinion that an attempt to deal with the economic problem as a whole was in conformity with the mandate given to the League of Nations by article 23, para. c, of the Covenant.

The observations made by the different delegations during the discussion showed that the proposal was generally considered a most necessary one. Very valuable suggestions were made, which will, no doubt, be utilised during the later stages of the work.

The delegations were unanimous in thinking it desirable that public opinion should be provided with information on the subject as full and as objective as possible, in order that the grave nature of the economic difficulties with which most countries are faced and the necessity of finding a remedy for them may be understood.

Since it was thought that the questions to be considered ought not to be too limited and fragmentary, and that the work to be undertaken should be given wide publicity, it did not seem expedient that the task should be entrusted to the Technical Organisations alone. The Committee therefore approved the proposal to consider the idea of a general Conference, and it was of opinion that all measures should be taken to prepare for this Conference with the utmost care and in the most methodical manner. The Committee thought that the details of this preparation should be settled by the Council, which ought to be granted complete freedom as regards the convening of the Conference itself and as regards its programme, due account being taken of the results of the preparatory work.

The British Delegation thought that it was also necessary not to prejudice the Council's decision as regards the expediency of establishing the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. It pointed out that this short delay would have the advantage of giving those Governments which had come to the Assembly unprepared, and which had not known in advance of the French proposal, the time to study it and to take any necessary advice with regard to it.

The Second Committee agrees with these observations and proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution. (See page 12 for terms of Resolution.)

The French Delegation further declared that, in its view, the decision arrived at meant that the Council would at its next session, in the month of December, consider the expediency of setting up the Preparatory Committee, and that the French Government intended to submit to the Council before this session proposals with regard to the measures to be taken. In order that the Council should have at its disposal all information necessary for coming to a decision, it is understood that, as soon as the proposals of the French Government are received, the Secretary-General is authorised to ask the Technical Organisations and the International Labour Office to communicate to him their views with regard to the composition of the Committee, without, however, prejudging the programme of the Conference. With regard to this programme, the Council will subsequently examine, if necessary, the proposals of the Preparatory Committee.

The Second Committee endorsed this declaration and agreed to this procedure.

The Minutes of the Committee which deal with this question will, needless to say, be communicated to all Governments in order that they may take into consideration the suggestions contained in the proposals made by the various delegations, in particular that of M. Zúñiga (Venezuela) and that of M. Avramovitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

ANNEX IV.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Financial Reconstruction of Austria.* (Rapporteur: H. E. M. Michelet, Delegate for Norway.)

The Second Committee has noted with extreme satisfaction the progress which has been accomplished in the financial reconstruction of Austria. The reconstruction scheme drawn up by the Council and the Financial Committee during the Third Assembly aimed principally at the stabilisation of Austrian currency and the balancing of the State budget. From the information given to the Second Committee by His Excellency M. Mataja, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Zimmerman, Commissioner-General of the League of Nations in Austria, it is clear that this twofold programme has been realised. As the Financial Committee stated in its Report to the Council, dated 10th September 1925 (document C. 528, 1925, II):—

- " 1. The Austrian currency has been stable since the League of Nations Reform Scheme was drawn up in the autumn of 1922.
- " 2. The ordinary budget for 1924 showed a surplus, which was devoted to covering a substantial part of the capital expenditure. In view of the figures at present available, a similar result is expected as regards the budget for 1925. The level at which these results have been reached has been higher than was originally hoped. A part of the capital expenditure has been, and is being, met from the League Reconstruction Loan."

According to the Geneva Protocols of 4th October 1922, the work of the Commissioner-General will be terminated by a decision of the Council of the League of Nations when the latter shall have ascertained that the financial stability of Austria is assured.

This provision in the Protocol was subsequently defined by an Agreement concluded with the Austrian Government on 16th September last year; under the terms of which the Financial Committee might recommend the Council to declare that financial stability had been attained:—

- (1) If the budget results for 1925 remained within the limits agreed upon, that is to say, if expenditure did not exceed a maximum of 545 million gold crowns, including 50 millions for capital expenditure;
- (2) If the budget adopted for 1926 remained within the same limits;
- (3) If certain reforms mentioned in the Agreement had been carried out;
- (4) And, finally, if the general economic situation inspired sufficient confidence.

The progress in carrying out the Agreement of September 1924—although in some points it has not been possible to carry out the programme laid down—has enabled the Council at its present session to take up the question of terminating the control. The Financial Committee's report (document C. 528, 1925, II) shows clearly

the form in which this problem presents itself and the solution which has been found.

The problem is not, in point of fact, so simple as might be thought at first sight. The intervention of the League of Nations has played a decisive part in the reconstruction of Austrian credit, both in the country itself and abroad. Austria still depends to a very great extent on foreign credits. These credits are at present at its disposal principally in the form of short-term credits. As is stated in the report by Mr. Layton and Professor Rist, the two experts whom the Council appointed to make a general enquiry into the economic situation of the country: "In existing circumstances, it is of supreme importance to Austria that her foreign credits should not be withdrawn. This is not merely a question of the rate of interest. It also depends upon the confidence of foreign money markets in the financial situation of the country."

It is therefore necessary at all costs to avoid any uneasiness which might be caused by a sudden and total withdrawal of control. It is for this reason, which is, moreover, fully understood by the Austrian Government, that a system of gradual transition in several stages has been decided upon.

The first stage is marked by the Commissioner-General's decision to attenuate the control, which was communicated to the Austrian Government on 11th August last. By this decision the Commissioner-General ceased, from that date, to exercise supervision over the various chapters of the budget and over detailed expenditure and restricted his activities to the supervision of the general budget position.

Further, at its meeting of 10th September, the Council, at the suggestion of the Financial Committee and in agreement with the Austrian Government, adopted the following measures:—

- (a) As from 1st January 1926, the Commissioner-General's control shall be limited to a control over the assigned revenues and over the expenditures of the remainder of the reconstruction loan. He shall from that date be released from the obligation to reside permanently at Vienna if he considers such residence to be unnecessary. These measures will be equivalent in reality to a suspension of the control.
- (b) When the budget for 1926 has been passed and the closed accounts for 1925 have been presented, which may be expected about May or June of next year, the Commissioner-General's control will cease.

The application of these measures depends on the passing by the Austrian Parliament of enactments allowing the maintenance, for three years, of the foreign Adviser to the National Bank, appointed by the Commissioner-General, and leaving to the Council for 10 years the right to re-establish its control by a three-fourths majority, if the proceeds of the assigned revenues should prove insufficient to cover the service of the loan or if the balancing of the budget should be seriously threatened.

The point of these proposals submitted to the Austrian Parliament is to give foreigners every confidence in the monetary and financial future of the country, even after the control has been

removed. We may be sure that, after experiencing the disastrous consequences of inflation, the Austrian people will do its utmost to pursue a thoroughly sound financial policy and to maintain the stability of the budget and currency, so that the question of re-establishing control will never arise.

We see, therefore, that the work of financial reconstruction is nearing its end. The Assembly will no doubt wish to congratulate the Austrian Government, and the organs of the League which have co-operated with it—the Council, the Financial Committee and, above all, the Commissioner-General. It is thanks to the constant and intimate collaboration of statesmen and technical experts, rendered possible by the organisation of the League and not conceivable outside the League, that it has been possible to accomplish this work, so entirely new in conception and presenting such almost insurmountable difficulties in execution, to the advantage not of Austria alone but of Europe and the world as a whole.

The financial task completed, the economic still remains. The Assembly knows, from the excellent report of Mr. Layton and Professor Rist, that Austria possesses all the necessary resources and has made remarkable progress during the last few years. Much still remains to be done in that sphere, however, as regards both the improvement of conditions of production and the development of markets. This report is in the hands of the Council, which has laid it before the Economic Committee. The economic problems are, it is true, even more complicated than the financial and currency problems, and we are under no delusion as to the difficulty of solving them, but the Second Committee expresses the hope that the work undertaken by the Economic Committee will soon show positive results.

ANNEX V.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary.* (Rapporteur: M. Loucheur, Delegate of France.)

The resolution of the last Assembly regarding the financial reconstruction of Hungary, adopted only a few months after the signature of the Agreements which were to render this reconstruction possible, and after the Commissioner-General's arrival in Budapest, stated the essential characteristics of the reconstruction scheme, and, after dwelling upon certain favourable signs, concluded by simply expressing the hope that this new effort undertaken by the League of Nations might be crowned with success.

The Sixth Assembly cannot fail to be surprised at the speed with which these hopes have been realised. After a year of close co-operation between the Hungarian Government and the Commissioner-General, the position of Hungary appears remarkably satisfactory. It may be summarised as follows:—

The Treasury accounts are so clear and simple as to afford at the first glance a definite impression of the position of the Treasury and the actual expenditure and revenue. The plan drawn up by the Financial Committee in consultation with the Hungarian Government contemplated for the

financial year 1924-5 a deficit of 100,000,000 gold crowns, to be met out of the proceeds of the reconstruction loan. The final accounts, which have been submitted to the Commissioner-General, show in place of this deficit a surplus of 63,000,000 gold crowns. The budget for the current year has been balanced.

For over a year the Hungarian crown has remained perfectly stable as against the pound sterling, and since the pound regained its parity the crown has had a stable gold value.

The Bank of Issue has followed a conservative policy; its resources have trebled in the course of a year, while the proportion of cover has risen from 45 per cent. to nearly 60 per cent.

The Commissioner-General states in his reports that the bank has sufficient resources at its command to meet without difficulty the heavy calls which will be made upon it as a result of this year's excellent harvest.

The excess of imports over exports has decreased. Home prices are showing a perceptible downward tendency, and savings are again on the increase. The deposits in crowns at the Savings Bank and the various banks in Budapest have increased from 2.6 million gold crowns in June 1924 to 78.1 millions in July 1925. Doubtless the problems which Hungary has still to solve will be satisfactorily dealt with in their turn.

One of the gravest of these problems is the concentration within the new frontiers of a large number of officials and ex-officials who were employed up to 1918 in the territories which have since been detached from Hungary; the same thing occurred in Austria. This surplus staff represents a serious tax upon the resources both of the State and of the railways.

In Hungary, even more than elsewhere, the reduction of the number of officials is a very urgent problem. The Government has a scheme for gradually reducing the staff and reorganising the public services. This idea squares with the views of the Financial Committee, which holds that there could be no such effective contribution to the permanent balancing of the budget as a reform of the administration on lines suited to the present requirements of Hungary. The Financial Committee recognises that, having regard to the heavy burden represented by pensions, the immediate effect of such a reform on the budget would be inconsiderable; it would, however, constitute a valuable guarantee for the future.

The Commissioner-General considers that the fiscal burden which is at present borne by Hungary is not disproportionate to the tax-paying capacity of the country. It is, however, sufficiently high, as taxation amounts to between 13 and 15 per cent. of the national income.

The Government is naturally concerned to improve the incidence of taxation. Nearly three-quarters of the Government revenues are collected by indirect taxation, and this seems an excessive proportion. It has been possible, in view of the satisfactory results of the financial year, to reduce the sales or turnover tax from 3 to 2 per cent. It is hoped that some relief will thus be afforded to the urban population.

The permanent financial security of any country is, of course, bound up with its economic

prosperity. The Financial Committee emphasises the necessity of cancelling a number of measures which were taken during the period of inflation and which the Committee regards as unfortunate in their effects.

We must congratulate the Hungarian Government on having found it possible entirely to abolish import and export prohibitions. The abolition of export prohibitions in respect of cereals by raising the price of agricultural products on the internal market, tends to improve the situation of the whole agricultural population. The new Customs tariff, which came into force on 1st January 1925, is very high. It imposes heavy duties on imports and hampers the development of foreign trade. The Financial Committee and the Council have laid stress on the desirability of lowering such Customs barriers by commercial agreements; several treaties have already been concluded, but none as yet with Hungary's immediate neighbours; we are very anxious that the negotiations now proceeding between Hungary and her neighbours, in particular Austria, should be brought to a successful conclusion. By lowering Customs barriers Hungary will encourage the development of closer trade relations between countries which were formerly united and whose productive forces are complementary. The prosperity of each of the countries in Central Europe is not merely an internal problem; it can and ought to be solved by a common effort.

Finally, the Hungarian Government has before it the task of improving the mechanical equipment of the country and the conditions of production. The assistance of foreign capital is all the more essential to Hungary as local capital has to a large extent disappeared during the inflation period.

The favourable budget situation and the savings effected on the proceeds of the Reconstruction Loan fortunately provide Hungary with resources which can be devoted to indispensable work. Last June the Council authorised the Hungarian Government to expend capital to the amount of 30,000,000 gold crowns over and above the budget surplus of the current year, such amount to be taken from the proceeds of the international loan. The programme of this expenditure was to be established by agreement between the Government and the Commissioner-General. The latter has supplied us with information regarding the Government's plans; 70,000,000 gold crowns will be spent on the railways and on the postal, telegraph and telephone services, on the construction of drainage canals and flood-dykes, which will increase the area of arable land, and on the construction of dwellings.

The Hungarian Government realises its responsibility in connection with the establishment of this programme of capital expenditure. The employment of foreign capital in Hungary can only improve the economic position of the country if it is devoted to definitely productive enterprises and if the new sources of revenue, whose creation it will make possible, compensate largely for the burdens which the interest on and amortisation of her debts will lay upon Hungary.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Financial Committee (other than Austria and Hungary).* (Rapporteur: Mr. Samuel, Delegate of the British Empire.)

The members of the Second Committee will have read the passages in the Report and Supplementary Report to the Assembly regarding the financial work of the year. They have also had the opportunity of hearing the Commissioners-General in Austria and Hungary; and the reconstruction work in these two countries is to form the subject of separate reports. I shall, therefore, confine myself to commenting upon the remaining work of the Financial Organisation.

It falls under five heads, *i.e.*:—1. The Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme; 2. Danzig; 3. Esthonia; 4. The question of double taxation; 5. The financial publications of the League.

1. THE GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT SCHEME.

When the Assembly met last year, the Geneva Protocol had been signed and a beginning had been made with the £3,000,000 advanced by the Bank of England and the Bank of Greece. You will remember that the total number of refugees requiring settlement had been estimated at about 1,000,000; that about £6,000,000 could be raised on the securities offered, and that this sum would make it possible to settle most of them in productive employment, and that, in order to organise the work of settlement, the Greek Government had agreed to establish the Settlement Commission, consisting of a Chairman of American nationality, representative of relief organisations; a member representing the Council of the League; and two Greek members. The first two are appointed by the Council, and the Chairman has a casting vote. It was also agreed that the Greek Government would raise a loan up to £6,000,000, the proceeds of which would be handed over to this Commission for the work of settlement. This work was limited to productive settlement, and charitable grants were expressly excluded.

While the last Assembly was meeting, discussions took place between the Financial Committee and the Greek Government, in which it emerged that the securities offered by the Greek Government had greatly increased since 1923; that the value of the land was higher than had originally been estimated; and that improvements had taken place in the general financial situation.

In these circumstances it was agreed that the amount of the loan might be raised to an effective sum of £10,000,000, and this provision, together with a few minor alterations to the original Protocol, was embodied in an Additional Act. The Assembly, in its Resolution of 25th September 1924, expressed the hope:—

“That the loan might be successfully issued, and that the whole of the undertaking, so vital to the economic and political stability of Greece, might be carried through to a successful conclusion.”

The progress of the work during the past year has justified this hope. The loan, which yielded

an effective sum of slightly over £10,000,000, was subscribed in London, New York, and Athens in December 1924, and with it the prospect of being able to complete the main part of the settlement work was assured.

Over 700,000 refugees have been productively settled in agriculture or housed in urban settlements near Athens, and on this work £7,000,000 out of the £10,000,000 have been expended.

It was obvious that a task of such magnitude, and in which so many interests were involved, would encounter difficulties. Some of these have been mentioned in the last Report of the Commission. I need not refer to them in detail as they have now been entirely eliminated under arrangements made by the Greek Committee of the Council.

The Commission still has a considerable task before it, and, owing to a considerable influx of refugees into Greece since the scheme was launched in excess of the number originally estimated, the Greek Government and the Commission believe that more money will be required if all the refugees are to be productively settled. But the Commission has already broken the back of the work, and I think the Assembly may congratulate itself on its success in the past and may, in view of the arrangements now made by the Council, have every hope for its future.

All observers are agreed that the refugees form admirable material. They are energetic and industrious and rapidly take advantage of the opportunities afforded them.

The details of the work are described in the Quarterly Reports of the Commission, which are submitted, in accordance with the Protocol, to the Council and to the Greek Government.

The Settlement Commission instituted under the auspices of the League, on a scheme prepared by its Financial Committee, has thus been the successful instrument of carrying out this vast piece of work, the effect of which is not only to relieve suffering and open up a happier future for the unfortunate refugees themselves, but also to strengthen permanently the whole economic life of Greece.

2. DANZIG.

Almost since its foundation the League of Nations has, by reason of its political responsibilities, devoted attention to the financial problems of the Free City of Danzig, whose territory was placed in a special category by the Treaty of Versailles. You are aware of how the Financial Committee in previous years helped to bring about the monetary reform in this territory and established the new golden currency.

In 1925 the League of Nations was connected with the issue of a loan of a million and a half pounds sterling floated by the Municipality of Danzig.

I wish to draw your attention to the differences and similarities between this loan and those already granted to Austria, Hungary, and Greece, under the auspices of the League of Nations.

The Danzig loan was not required for reconstructive work of such importance as to be almost vital for the territories in question. Moreover, the responsibilities undertaken by the

League of Nations in connection with this municipal loan are much more limited, owing to the circumstances in which its assistance was requested, than those which it assumed in connection with the three large loans to which I have just referred.

The Council was merely requested to appoint a trustee to examine the receipts of the municipal undertakings, and to see that the money raised by the loan should be expended on certain definite objects.

It is also competent to approve modifications in the programme of expenditure.

The Municipality had previously entered into negotiations with the banking houses representing the lenders. The bankers were prepared to make the advances required on condition that the Financial Committee and the Council of the League of Nations accepted certain definite responsibilities connected with the execution of the loan programme.

Having pointed out these fundamental differences as compared with the three preceding loans, I may refer to the similarities, in which you will recognise the customary methods of the League's technical organisations. Allowing for the difference in the amounts, the difficulties were the same. Agreement had to be brought about between the various interests concerned, and political considerations had to be reconciled. The object of the loan was not only to bring about an improvement in the municipal undertakings, but also to carry out certain work in the port of Danzig. The administration of this port is under the control of a special body, (Harbour Board) composed of Poles and citizens of Danzig. The Polish Government and the authorities of the Free City of Danzig were consequently directly interested in that part of the loan which was to be used for port works.

When the Financial Committee examined the proposals submitted to it, it had to consider all these aspects of the problem. According to its custom, it acted both as a mediator and as a technical expert. In March 1925 various agreements were concluded under its auspices, and in accordance with its directions between all the parties in question, namely, the authorities of the Free City and of the Municipality, the Harbour Board, and the Polish Government.

The results of all these negotiations were as satisfactory as those obtained in connection with the previous loans. This, the fourth loan issued under the auspices of the League of Nations, was successfully floated in London in March 1925.

3. ESTHONIA.

The assistance given to Esthonia by the League of Nations is of a different kind from that accorded to the countries already mentioned. The League was not called upon to assist in the raising of a loan nor to appoint an adviser residing for a certain period in the country.

At the request of the Esthonian Government, the Financial Committee, in February 1925, sent out a delegation consisting of M. Avenol and Mr. Loveday, and, as a result of this mission, a very interesting report was published with the assent of the Esthonian Government, including a general statement of the principal economic and financial factors of the situation,

and recording the opinion of the Committee, in reply to certain definite questions put by the Estonian Government.

The Financial Committee recommends that the statutes of the Bank of Estonia should be modified so as to bring them into line with those adopted by Austria, Hungary, and Danzig. It gives advice to the bank of issue with a view to the employment of its reserves abroad to the best advantage and recommends that the question of establishing a mortgage institution should be investigated.

It is of interest that a State, without in any way sacrificing its independence, should ask the technical organisations of the League of Nations for advice, and authorise the publication of this advice, which may be found useful by any of the States Members confronted with similar problems.

4. DOUBLE TAXATION AND TAX EVASION.

After speaking of various countries which the Financial Committee has in one way or another helped with specific advice, I have yet to touch on a problem of general interest: the question of double taxation and tax evasion.

You will remember that the Financial Committee appointed a small Committee, consisting of the representatives of the fiscal administrations of seven European countries, to discover whether it would be possible to arrive at an agreement upon certain common principles. These experts finished their work in February 1925, the Financial Committee approving the results in their main outlines. Their aim is, in the first instance, to decrease or eliminate the *double taxation* which arises when a tax payer living in one country and deriving a portion of his income from another country has to pay a tax on that income in both States.

I shall not here discuss in detail the solutions proposed by the experts. It will be enough to point out that they are different in the case of the so-called impersonal or schedular taxes and of personal or general income tax respectively. In the first case, the principle adopted is that the State in which the source of income is situated is entitled to impose these taxes. In the second case, on the contrary, it is only the State of domicile of the tax payer which—apart from certain exceptions—can levy the general tax. The definition of these exceptions and exemptions constitutes an important part of the experts' report and requires exhaustive study. This report, which was published under the auspices of the Council of the League, has already called forth comment, especially in the British financial Press. It should be noted that, simultaneously with the work of the League experts, the International Chamber of Commerce has had under consideration this same question of double taxation. Its views, at first widely divergent from those of the Geneva experts, have, after repeated reconsideration, gradually come into line with them, and at its last general conference held at Brussels this year, the International Chamber of Commerce agreed, subject to a few amendments, to the conclusions of the technical experts, which had been already approved by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations.

We have here, therefore, a text which may be considered to be the co-ordinated results of investigations simultaneously undertaken by the revenue authorities and by the representatives of the great commercial associations of the whole world. What is to be the outcome of this document?

The Council of the League of Nations, following the suggestions of its Committee, and desiring to secure practical results, has laid down the principle of convening a conference of experts, constituted on a wider basis than the Committee of which I have spoken, and including representatives of the following States: France, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Poland, Germany, Japan, the Argentine Republic, the United States, and Venezuela.

The invitations have just been sent out, and this Conference should meet during the year 1926. Basing its investigations on the text of the seven original experts and availing itself of the new light thrown on the subject by the delegates of the States newly represented, the object of the conference will be to ascertain whether it is possible to prepare preliminary drafts of an international convention. These drafts could then be used as the programme of a general international conference.

The importance of the advance which has been made since the last Assembly needs no further reiteration. The practical solution of the problem of double taxation is one of those which at first aroused the deepest scepticism. It is true that this problem involves so many divergent interests that a certain scepticism must be admitted to be natural. In order to gauge the difficulties of the problem, it must be remembered that one of the fundamental reasons for the opposition between the points of view of the various Governments lies in the fact that it is in the interest of certain States that taxpayers resident within their territory should bear the burden of a tax on their entire income wherever it arises, while other countries obtain revenue by taxing income procured within their territories by foreign investment.

Solutions are, however, possible and have already been realised to a limited extent. Last year, conventions with respect to taxation of maritime transport were concluded between the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, Japan, &c. Again, various Central European States have concluded mutual treaties marking the limits of the competence of the various Treasuries with respect to income tax; Italy has also signed and ratified a treaty with Czechoslovakia, and the Succession States of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire drew up an international convention at Rome in 1921.

The efforts which were made by the original experts and those that will be made by the proposed conference in the attempt to find a solution as general as possible for the problem of double taxation are therefore worthy of praise.

While attempting to protect the taxpayer from the payment of multiple income tax, the experts also endeavoured, in accordance with the recommendations of the Genoa Conference, to take measures to prevent States from losing a part of their revenue by what is known as tax evasion.

This is, in fact, another aspect of the fiscal problem, and the correlation between the two questions examined by the experts is well expressed by the following passage in the report:—

"Taxpayers alarmed by proposals for fiscal control do not understand that, before or during the framing of measures which may prove embarrassing to them, States do not come to some agreement in order suitably to define their respective jurisdictions as regards taxation and to avoid double taxation. On the other hand, if States, in concluding agreements to avoid double taxation, are driven to make sacrifices in the matter of the yield from taxation owing to the granting of exemption or relief, or a reduction of the rates of their taxes, they may properly endeavour to find compensation for what they thus surrender in measures against tax evasion. Essentially, however, connection between the two problems is much more a moral than a material one; the idea of justice in the production of taxes is the predominant consideration in all the investigations which all the experts have adopted.

"The proposed measures against tax evasion are in the interest of all honest taxpayers.

"The Committee adds that, by making good the loss suffered by any Treasury through the concealment of income, States can not only indemnify themselves for the sacrifices necessitated by the abolition of multiple taxation, but can also reduce the rates of their taxes."

We can only commend the object aimed at by the experts, but we must not minimise the difficulty of the means to be used. I know that my own country has already concluded a convention with France, more or less restricted in its application, with respect to evasion in the case of death duties. Certain Central European States have also entered into arrangements to assist one another in the recovery of taxes. But the greatest precautions are necessary, and the experts have themselves recognised—and this does credit to their sense of realities and their practical merit—that conventions intended to restrict tax evasion should be as far as possible universal, for, if only two States conclude agreements, there is some danger of an exodus of their capital to another country which has not signed any convention.

The experts have, however, drawn up general resolutions and these, together with the resolutions concerning double taxation, will be examined by the proposed conference of which I have already spoken.

5. FINANCIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.

In conclusion, I should like to say a word as to the financial publications of the Statistical Section of the Secretariat.

This work has been proceeding as in past years. Apart from the regular issue of the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, volumes are being brought out on *Currency and Central Banks*. It

is important that information on this subject should be published.

Owing to the pressure of work, I understood that one of the enquiries which had been recommended by the Brussels Conference has not yet been completed, but I am informed that a volume on the Joint-Stock Banks is to appear in the course of next year.

Another edition of the *Memorandum on the Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balances* will also appear shortly.

Many of you will have had occasion to use these financial publications of the League; their reputation is growing; this kind of information, comprehensive in scope, intelligently arranged and objectively presented, affords the most valuable assistance in getting to understand financial, and I may add also the economic, problems of the day.

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Second Committee on the Work of the Health Organisation.* (Rapporteur: M. O. Velghe, Belgium.)

In its resolution of 20th September 1924 the Fifth Assembly said:—

The Assembly approves the work of the Service of Epidemiological Intelligence and Public Health Statistics and the results obtained from the carrying out of the system of interchanges of public health personnel. The Assembly notes with pleasure the results obtained through the efforts of the Health Committee in connection with the standardisation of sera and biological products. It considers that the most valuable results may be anticipated from the inquiry which has been undertaken into mortality from cancer, and that the work of the Malaria Commission is calculated to furnish valuable assistance to the administrations most vitally concerned. The Assembly is gratified to note that the Health Committee has responded to the requests of several Governments, placing at their disposal investigators and technical advisers on matters of public health. It approves the establishment of a Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence in the Far East.

Encouraged by this approval, the Health Organisation was in a position to continue its activities in the various fields referred to above. The Health Committee's report to the Sixth Assembly gives a detailed analysis of the work accomplished since last year. We need, therefore, only describe the stage which has been reached in the various investigations and the results which have been achieved.

1. The Epidemiological Intelligence Service, the great value of which is appreciated by health administrations, has continued to publish its monthly report, 81 numbers having already appeared. It also published, last June, its

second annual report, which supplements the monthly bulletin. In view of the necessity of accelerating the transmission of information regarding certain diseases, the Governments of several countries on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea decided to notify Geneva by telegraph, at their own expense, of the appearance of plague or cholera cases in any of their ports. This represents a considerable step forward; for, if all prophylaxis is based upon the notification of the outbreak of contagious diseases, the speed and efficacy of such prophylaxis varies directly with the promptitude of the notification.

Further, the proposed Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau in the Far East has been set up at Singapore, and has been at work since 1st March last, thanks to the generosity of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Bureau is now in communication with 46 of the principal ports in Asia, Australia, and East Africa. It co-ordinates the information received and transmits it weekly by wireless to the interested health services in the Far East, and also to the Health Section, which in turn transmits it to the health administrations of the Members of the League.

In view of the valuable services rendered by the Singapore Bureau, since its recent foundation, the French Delegation has proposed the following resolution:—

The Second Committee, having in mind the gravity and the prevalence of endemic and epidemic diseases in West Africa and the international danger arising therefrom, recommends that the Assembly instructs the Health Committee of the League of Nations to study the possibility of establishing a sanitary and epidemiological bureau on the West Coast of Africa.

This office would be, in their opinion, of great service not only to the African countries but also to the regions with which they are in contact, especially South America. The establishment of the Singapore Bureau and the appointment, in connection with the Bureau, of a Commission of delegates of the Far Eastern health administrations and representatives of the Health Organisation are evidence of the special importance which the Health Committee attaches to the improvement of the health situation in Far Eastern countries, and constitute an assurance that the Committee will endeavour to extend its work in that part of the world.

2. With the object of ensuring that official morbidity and mortality statistics may be drawn up on a comparable basis, the Health Organisation has undertaken the publication of reports on the organisation and work of the various health administrations and health statistical departments, and is also investigating statistical problems of international importance.

In the same field of work the Health Committee has appointed a Committee of experts to agree upon a standard definition of still-birth, in order that it may be possible to judge of the efficacy of the measures taken to reduce infant mortality. This Committee has concluded its work, and the Health Committee's report has, by

the Council's instructions, been forwarded to the Governments.

Another body of experts has been appointed to study the tabulation of causes of death.

3. As regards the standardisation of biological products, the investigations are so advanced that another international conference was recently held at Geneva.

A special Committee was appointed to consider the standardisation of processes used for the titration of tuberculin which is employed in the diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis.

Since the last Assembly six Governments have sent in their replies regarding the sero-diagnosis of syphilis. It appears from these replies that the system of notation which is advocated for use in indicating the results of the sero-reaction has been officially adopted in several of these countries, and that the other suggestions which were made as to the method to be followed in carrying out the test have been, or are being, to some extent, put into practice.

The investigations in connection with sera in respect of which standardisation is possible in the present state of knowledge are so far advanced that there is some prospect of resolutions being adopted next year, which will be submitted to the Governments for ratification.

4. The enquiries undertaken by the Cancer Commission have confirmed the supposition that there is a considerable difference between England, Italy, and the Netherlands as regards mortality from cancer of the breast and uterus. The investigations which have been set on foot with a view to discovering factors which will explain this difference are now in progress, and have already led to some interesting conclusions.

5. The Malaria Commission has published a most interesting and fully-documented report. The results obtained in Palestine, in the course of a recent tour of investigation, have led the majority of the members to conclude that, valuable though the quinine treatment is, the most effective weapon against the disease consists in improvement works for the destruction of larvae and mosquitoes, where such works are possible. The experience acquired by the Commission continues to merit the attention of the administrations concerned. At the invitation of the Spanish Government, the Commission has lately visited certain malarial regions in Spain. One of its members has visited the health administration of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, at the request of the Government of that country. The French Government has asked the Commission to conduct an investigation in Corsica, and a similar request has lately been received from the Turkish Government.

As existing supplies of quinine are not wholly adequate, the Commission has decided to arrange for clinical tests using cinchonine, a secondary alkaloid of cinchona, and the total alkaloids of cinchona, so that their action may be compared with that of quinine. The Commission hopes to have reached a decision on this point by next year, after which it will be able to approach the question of the world's quinine supply, as requested by the health

administration of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

6. There are also other matters in connection with which Governments have appealed to the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. Thus, at the request of Persia, a delegate of the Health Section proceeded to that country to study the possibilities for organising measures against epidemics.

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has also recently solicited the co-operation of the Health Organisation in investigating the causes of the persistence of endemic plague in certain parts of Eastern Siberia bordering upon Manchuria.

7. On the suggestion of the Health Committee, transmitted, in accordance with a decision of the Council, to all Governments having possessions in Central Africa, a Conference met in London last May to consider the campaign against sleeping sickness and tuberculosis in those regions. This Conference made various recommendations, especially with regard to the contact to be established between the officials posted on either side of a frontier, and with regard to the introduction of sanitary passports for natives crossing from one country into another.

The Conference, moreover, recommended that an international Commission should be asked to proceed to East Africa to study, along certain definite lines, a series of problems relating to the epidemiology of sleeping sickness. This problem is of considerable interest, but the cost involved would necessitate the creation of a common fund to which the Governments interested would have to contribute, and for the establishment of which the financial assistance of the League of Nations is also suggested.

8. Interchanges of public health officials, organised in part by means of funds placed for this purpose at the disposal of the Health Organisation by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, took place this year in Great Britain, Belgium, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Sixty-five officials belonging to 36 different countries participated. In addition, three interchanges of specialists took place, one of which was organised, in conjunction with the International Labour Office, for medical inspectors of labour.

An interchange was arranged exclusively for the health officers of Latin-American countries, while another is being organised for the sanitary officials of Eastern countries.

As it is difficult for public health officials of the British Dominions to take part in these collective tours, health experts from Australia and from New Zealand have been charged with individual study missions in Europe. Similarly, a Canadian tuberculosis expert has had the opportunity of investigating thoroughly the methods in use in different European countries for combating tuberculosis.

The interchanges of officials are intended to develop the scientific and technical knowledge of those who take part, to give them an insight into the institutions and organisations of the countries they visit, and to enable them to appreciate the efficiency of the methods in use

for combating disease and for improving the hygienic conditions of the population. The relations which result from the interchange of health experts of the various countries serve to promote mutual understanding, a desire for collaboration and a spirit of emulation which cannot fail to be of value, both to those who take part in the interchanges and to the sanitary administrations to which they belong.

Convinced of the great utility of these interchanges, the Cuban Delegation proposed the following resolution:—

The Second Committee requests the Health Committee to consider the possibility of organising during the coming year an interchange of technical personnel in charge of institutes of public health and tropical medicine in the countries of Latin America.

9. In the resolution referred to at the beginning of the present report, the Fifth Assembly asked the Health Committee to institute an enquiry into the value of the measures taken against tuberculosis in different countries.

In carrying out this decision, the Health Committee, considering that it was not competent to investigate problems of a clinical and therapeutic nature, decided, as a preliminary measure, to prepare a report dealing with the decline of mortality from tuberculosis in the various countries from a statistical point of view.

This report having demonstrated that there was a real decline in certain countries and having brought to light the probable reasons, a Committee was formed to continue the work and to study the effect of industrial labour, of housing and food supplies generally, and of milk consumption in particular, upon the prevalence of tuberculosis.

The Commission decided, moreover, to undertake a statistical enquiry into the cost of the different measures applied against tuberculosis.

We appreciate the methodical character of the proposed investigations, and we realise the important part they will play in improving our armament against tuberculosis. Let us therefore hope that they will shortly be productive of satisfactory results.

10. Last year the Assembly asked the Council "to suggest to the Health Committee the desirability of communicating to the Permanent Committee of the Paris Office international d'Hygiène publique the report setting out the questions with which the Health Committee proposes to deal at such a date as to permit the Permanent Committee to make, before the next Assembly, any observations to the Health Committee which appear to it desirable."

In compliance with this request, the Health Committee decided, at its meeting on 24th April last, that its annual report should deal with the year up to 31st December, and should be based upon the resolutions adopted by the Health Committee at its sessions held during the year. The report will be published and distributed as soon as possible at the beginning of each year, and will be included in the agenda of the following session of the Committee.

In this way, both the members of the Health Committee of the League of Nations and the members of the Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique will be in a position to submit their observations in the course of the session which these two Committees hold each spring.

We may add that, last April, the Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique expressed its entire approval of the report which the Health Committee had communicated to it regarding the work carried out since its third session.

As a fairly long period elapses between the date at which this report ends and the opening of the annual session of the Assembly, the Committee further decided that, in accordance with the rule laid down for the technical organisations of the League, a second report, dealing with events up to 30th June, should be prepared by the Medical Director of the Health Section and approved by the Bureau of the Health Committee. This was done this year, and the Bureau further decided to communicate the report to all the members of the Committee, with the request that they should submit such observations as they might think fit.

This second report was transmitted to the various Governments by the Secretary-General at the end of July. An Eastern delegation has expressed the hope that in future it may receive the report in time to submit it to its health authorities before leaving for Geneva. The Committee and the Health Section will doubtless do what it can to meet this delegation's wishes.

11. Owing to lack of funds, the Health Organisation was unable to comply with the request addressed to it by the Fifth Assembly "to take into consideration in due course the study of the problem of physical education and to investigate the means for its general extension on rational principles." Let us hope that it will be placed in a position this year to undertake this work and that it will also be able to give effect to the resolution quoted above regarding the establishment of a Health and Epidemiological Bureau on the West Coast of Africa.

As regards the various subjects mentioned in the following resolutions, the Second Committee proposes to refer them to the Health Committee for study, provided that no expenditure additional to the estimates already submitted is involved:—

I. Proposal of the Italian Delegation.

In view of the present widespread prevalence of trachoma, which serious disease is one of the most frequent causes of blindness, the Second Committee of the Sixth Assembly recommends:—

That the Health Committee, with the approval of the Council, undertake an enquiry into the prevalence of trachoma in various countries and into the measures that have been adopted for its prevention. Having obtained this information, the Health Committee should be in a position to formulate

recommendations and eventually to advise as to the most suitable and effective measures to be applied for the prevention of this disease.

II. Proposal of the Czechoslovak Delegation.

1. In the interest of the economic, practical, and efficient organisation of public health services, including national health insurance, the Second Committee requests the Health Organisation to undertake a comparative study of these aspects of health administration in various countries.

2. In view of the great interest attached to the collection of morbidity statistics, with special regard to the prevention of disease, the Second Committee requests that the Health Committee, among its other work, should include the study of a uniform international method of collecting information regarding diseases treated in hospitals.

3. The Second Committee recommends that the Health Committee should insert on its agenda a study of the conditions in which it would be possible to unify national pharmacopœias in so far as prescriptions relating to the compounding of drugs are concerned.

III. Proposal of the Paraguayan Delegation.

The Second Committee, appreciating the value of the studies undertaken by the Health Organisation to secure the comparability of health statistics, recommends that an expert medical statistician be sent to a certain number of countries, notably in Latin America, to study, in collaboration with the competent authorities of those countries, the sanitary statistical methodology employed therein, with the object of making comparable the health statistics of a still larger number of countries.

IV. Proposal of the Venezuelan Delegation.

The Second Committee, desirous of strengthening the ties which should bind the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to national public health administrations, recommends to each Government the establishment of a special bureau within its health organisation, whose function it would be to ensure collaboration between the head of this administration and the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. It is desirable that the personnel of such special bureaux should already have collaborated with the Health Organisation of the League of Nations.

V. Proposal of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The Second Committee requests the Health Committee to study from an international point of view the measures that might be recommended to Governments, in the interest of public health, for the control of the manufacture and distribution of food supplies.

12. According to the Health Committee's report, the budget estimates for 1926 represent the absolute minimum of its requirements and amount to less than was asked for by the Committee for 1925.

The Second Committee notes that, according to the same report, if the estimates prepared by the Health Committee are approved, the budget of the Health Organisation might be stabilised at the amount requested for the financial year 1926 as long as the general budget of the League of Nations remains within its present limits and the Assembly or the Council does not entrust to the Health Committee any new tasks.

13. Last year the Assembly was pleased to recognise that the work accomplished by the Health Organisation had been kept within the limits of the mission entrusted to the League of Nations under article 23, para. 6, of the Covenant, and was likely to promote valuable co-operation in health matters.

The Second Committee would also emphasise the fact—mentioned by the Health Committee in its report—that the greater part of the work of the Health Organisation has been done not so much upon its own initiative as at the request of Governments, of national public health authorities, of the Council or of the Assembly.

14. As the investigations of the Health Organisation are given a wide publicity, they are of value to the local and central health authorities in all countries. Even when the Health Organisation, at the request of any Government, sends a mission to a country to investigate its health conditions and discover the best remedies, it does not render service to the public health authorities of that country alone, for all nations are jointly and separately responsible in health matters; all benefit by the experience of others, just as all are menaced by unsatisfactory health conditions of any one of them or by the inadequacy of its sanitary equipment.

The League of Nations fully realised this when it established the Health Organisation and approved the methods of work of the Health Committee. By forming permanent or temporary Commissions, as the case might be; by appointing the most highly qualified experts in the various countries to be members of these Commissions; by the research work entrusted to those experts; by the missions sent to make studies on the spot, in order that they might ascertain the actual state of affairs and might judge of special circumstances of the extent of the evil from which populations are suffering and of the remedies best suited to local conditions, the Health Organisation is in a position to make prompt and useful suggestions to the public health authorities which seek its advice.

15. In order to show its appreciation of the work done by the Health Organisation, the Second Committee decided to submit to the Assembly the following Resolution, which was proposed by the Venezuelan Delegation and seconded by the Delegations of Belgium, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Italy, Japan, Paraguay, Poland, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Switzerland.

In proposing the following Resolution, the Second Committee emphasises that its adoption does not involve any additional expenditure. (see page 12 for terms of Resolution.)

ANNEX VIII.—Report of the Second Committee on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, including the question of the education of youth in the ideals of the League. (Rapporteur: M. Agueroy Bethancourt, Cuban Delegate.)

The Second Committee has studied with great care the documents relative to the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation since the meeting of the Fifth Assembly, and has been able to form an idea of what the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has done during the past year.

The most important event is the organisation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Thanks to the generous offer of the French Government, which was highly appreciated by the Fifth Assembly, the Committee was furnished with the necessary resources for constructing its most important instrument.

Last September, after exhaustive discussion, the Second Committee of the Fifth Assembly drew up a series of directions which will give this Institute, under the control of the League of Nations, a truly international character as regards both its programme of work and its staff.

In pursuance of these decisions, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, having before it a number of reports on this question sent in by its members, decided, as long ago as May 1925, upon the main outlines of the regulations which will govern the new Institute in accordance with the resolutions of the Fifth Assembly. A Sub-Committee of members of the Committee was appointed to prepare the drafts for discussion at the Committee's last meeting in July.

The Committee, which became, in accordance with the Assembly's decision, the Governing Body of the Institute, adopted the final text of the internal regulations, staff regulations, and financial regulations of the Institute. The Governing Body in due course appointed five persons of different nationalities, who, together with the Chairman of the Governing Body, will form the Committee of Directors.

All these members were selected from the Committee itself, although in principle the Committee of Directors may include persons who are not members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Governing Body thought it best to act on these lines at the outset, because it felt that the members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, being better acquainted with its work than anybody outside, would find it easier to overcome the great difficulties which the formation of the Institute was bound to involve.

In accordance with the statutes, the Governing Body also proceeded to make those appointments of officials which were in its hands. The Second Committee greatly appreciates the appointment made by the Governing Body of M. Julien Luchaire as Director of the Institute. All these decisions taken by the Governing Body

were approved by the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting of 9th September 1925.

At the same time the Institute's programme of work was carefully gone into. From the outset the various sections will have a very wide field of activity and will thus be able to assist materially in the Committee's work.

The Governing Body also came to a decision upon the details of the budget for 1926, which was kept within the limits of the French Government's grant. It considered it necessary to include an article in the internal regulations of the Institute by which the Governments may appoint representatives accredited to the Institute.

Owing both to the selection of the higher officials—with whom the Council and the Assembly are entirely satisfied, and who, we are glad to note, include persons from countries which are not yet members of the League of Nations—and to the work which has been allotted to it, we are convinced that the foundation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation will mark the opening of an important epoch in the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

Under the direction of M. de Jouvenel, who took M. Henri Bergson's place in his absence, the Governing Body has done sound and valuable work, on which the Second Committee has pleasure in offering its congratulations. The Second Committee only regrets that, owing to illness, the distinguished Chairman of the Governing Body has been obliged not merely to resign the Chair but to withdraw completely.

The Second Committee thanks M. Bergson for having devoted a great part of his valuable time to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and for having contributed, by his great authority, profound erudition, unvarying firmness and tact, to the excellent results which the International Committee has achieved.

On the completion of the work of the Governing Body, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation turned to its ordinary business. This year, as in previous years, many proposals were made. It should be noted that the question of an international university frequently reappears before the Committee in one form or another. On this occasion it was embodied in the scheme prepared by M. Barány, Professor at the University of Upsala, in which it took the form of an international institution for training diplomats, newspaper editors, and experts in international law. This question is closely related with the question of teaching history and other subjects in a manner more suited to the aims and ideals of the League.

The Committee came to the conclusion that, although these schemes concerned questions which it had at heart, they could not for the moment be put into effect. For the time being, it could only express the favour with which it viewed them and its desire to see them realised, and refer them for more detailed examination to the appropriate sections of the Institute.

M. Casares, substitute for M. de Torres-Quevedo, submitted a most interesting scheme to the Committee. His idea was to remove as far as possible from certain historical works and

text-books for school use, passages which contained errors liable to arouse international prejudices. The author of this proposal was well aware of the care with which it was necessary to proceed in educational questions falling under the sole jurisdiction of the Government of each country; and he therefore asked the Committee not to take direct action, but to work through the agency of the National Committees and to intervene only in the case of errors of fact. Moreover, in order to avoid useless recriminations, the National Committees of countries in which errors are established will be free to take steps for their correction or not, as they think best, and will not be asked for their reasons if they decide not to do so.

The Committee unanimously accepted M. Casares' proposal.

Other proposals submitted to the Committee dealt with the unification of scientific nomenclature. One scheme, put forward by M. de Castro, a member of the Committee, concerned scientific nomenclature with special reference to that employed in nosology, while the other, submitted by M. Childe, of Rio de Janeiro, related to the unification of archaeological nomenclature.

While it realised the difficulties which would have to be overcome before the unification of nomenclature could be brought about, and while it did not overlook the fact that the solution of these problems is a matter for the various classes of scientists themselves, the Committee referred M. de Castro's proposal to the Sub-Committee on Bibliography, and M. Childe's scheme to the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters.

It also requested Mme. Curie, M. Einstein, and M. Lorentz, members of the Committee, to consider a question raised by the Director of the Netherlands Meteorological Observatory in regard to the establishment of an international Meteorological Bureau.

Last year the Fifth Assembly adopted a proposal submitted by M. Puscariu, Delegate of Roumania, regarding the issue of an international loan under League control with the object of promoting intellectual development in those countries Members of the League of Nations which desired such assistance. This new form of co-operation between nations gained the approval of the Fifth Assembly, which decided to refer the scheme to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and to the Financial Committee of the League should the latter's opinion be required.

When asked by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to state its views, the Roumanian Government appointed M. N. Cantacuzène, Minister Plenipotentiary, to represent it. The latter explained to the Committee how the Roumanian Government proposed to use the loan to develop its higher education and how it intended to discharge the obligations which would have to be met if the loan was granted.

Recognising the great importance of this scheme, the Committee expressed its approval and announced its readiness to co-operate, so far as lay in its power, in carrying it out. The financial side of the question is not, of course, within the competence of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, but is a matter for the Financial Committee.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation also recommended this important proposal to the attention of the International Institute.

Among the most important sections of the Paris Institute are those devoted to Arts and Letters. The Committee having decided that a very close touch should be maintained between its special Sub-Committees and the corresponding sections of the Institute, it found itself under the necessity of setting up a Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters. This Sub-Committee was formed on the same principles as have hitherto proved so successful with the other Sub-Committees; the Committee appointed certain of its own members and a number of highly qualified experts.

The Council has already approved the appointment and composition of this Sub-Committee, which will decide what questions are to be studied by the corresponding sections of the Institute and will supervise their investigation.

Esteeming it desirable that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should represent the various intellectual methods and the various national cultures, the Fourth Assembly requested the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to consider the possibility of increasing the membership of the Committee. In view, however, of the difficulties in the way of giving complete effect to the resolutions of the Fourth Assembly, the Committee came to the conclusion that it would be better to appoint several new correspondents representing national cultures and groups. This proposal was approved by the Fifth Assembly and carried into effect at the last session in July 1925.

The Committee therefore appointed three correspondents, in accordance with the principles laid down in the memorandum on the status of correspondents which was adopted at its session in July 1924 and approved by the Council and Assembly.

A Roumanian correspondent, Professor Racovitza; a Czecho-Slovak correspondent, Professor Jaroslav Kallab; and a Chinese correspondent, Professor Hoot-Tsi, were appointed.

The Sub-Committees continued their investigations of the problems already under consideration and took up certain others.

The Sub-Committee on Intellectual Property, while awaiting replies from certain industrial countries regarding Senator Ruffini's scheme, was content to consider the present aspect of the question as it appears from the information already received by the Secretariat. It noted that in all quarters the principle of the scheme had either obtained approval or was being seriously considered. The point at which difficulties will arise is when theoretical approval gives place to practical action.

On the proposal of its Sub-Committee, the Committee decided that, before convening the Committee of Experts contemplated in its resolution of last year, it would be well to obtain the views of a number of recognised representatives of industry, either by correspondence or at a small meeting to be arranged by the International Institute in Paris. The Committee thought it would be desirable to acquaint itself in advance with the special point of view of industrial circles.

The Sub-Committee on University Relations examined the position of the International University Information Office and its organ, the *Bulletin*. Although this publication has not yet acquired so large a circulation as the Committee anticipated, it is being received with increasing favour in university circles, and seems to have improved appreciably since the appearance of the first number.

On the proposal of the Secretary of the European Student Relief, the Sub-Committee on University Relations agreed to take the initiative in summoning a meeting of representatives of the Committees of International Students' Associations, the agenda to be fixed by the Sub-Committee.

The object of this meeting will be to improve the division of labour and to co-ordinate more effectively the work of the students' associations in order to avoid waste of time and overlapping particularly in connection with exchanges of students.

After a statement had been made by the President of the International Students' Federation, the Sub-Committee also approved the preparation and the text of an international students' card, which will enable members of the International Students' Associations to enjoy certain travelling facilities granted by various countries.

The work of the Bibliography Sub-Committee is constantly developing. This is perhaps the part of the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which has given the best results from a practical point of view.

Arrangements have been made for the co-ordination of analytical bibliography in physics and the various branches of physics between the editors of the three existing analytical bibliography reviews dealing with these subjects.

Provided the associations which control these three reviews give their approval, which we hope they will do without delay, co-ordination in the sphere of this science will have been achieved.

The Committee has reason to be particularly satisfied with this result and desires to thank the representatives of the three above-mentioned publications for the goodwill which they have shown in the matter.

The co-ordination of bibliography in regard to classical philology and economic sciences will also be undertaken.

The Committee of Experts for investigating the latter of these two subjects will meet at an early date. The Committee on Intellectual Co-ordination hopes that as a result of the experience gained in the co-ordination of physical sciences, the co-ordination of the bibliography of the economic sciences will perhaps be effected more easily.

The question of the loan of archives and loans between libraries has also been considered, together with the diffusion, by means of analytical summaries, or scientific work performed by nationals of countries whose language is not widely known.

The Committee is of the opinion that, with the assistance of the National Committees, it will be in a position to meet the requirements of research workers in all spheres.

The *Index Bibliographicus* was printed in the course of the past year. It has been well received by the specialists interested, and a supplement, which will be published by the Brussels International Institute of Bibliography, will fill the few unavoidable gaps in the first edition.

Although the time of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which acts both as a Committee and as a Governing Body, has this year been largely devoted to the establishment of its Institute in Paris, the Second Committee will have noted, on examining the documents submitted to it, that it has this year again accomplished excellent work.

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The Second Committee has examined Reports A. 10 and A. 10 (a) regarding the instruction of children and young people in the existence and aims of the League of Nations.

Last year the Fifth Assembly decided [see A. 79 (1), 1924, Resolution 10] that it was of the greatest importance that the youth of the entire world should be familiarised with the principles and work of the League of Nations and that the younger generation should be trained to consider international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.

It instructed the Secretariat to investigate the means by which efforts to promote contact and to educate the youth of all countries in the ideals of world peace and solidarity may be further developed and co-ordinated and to submit a report on this subject to the Sixth Assembly.

The report now before the Second Committee includes: (1) a summary of the information supplied by Governments and by non-official organisations as to what has already been done to make known the work of the League of Nations and to disseminate the ideal of international co-operation; (2) information supplied by Governments and non-official organisations regarding what is being done to promote contact between young people of different nationalities.

One conclusion which can be drawn from this interesting report is that instruction in the aims of the League of Nations and the promotion of contact between young people of different nationalities is an indispensable correction to chauvinist tendencies. In spite of the diversity of the educational systems in different countries, it has been noted that definite instruction regarding the League of Nations is frequently provided for, and sometimes organised, by the competent authorities.

Again, numerous unofficial organisations are ready to promote wider knowledge of the principles on which the League of Nations is based by means of instruction in this subject.

There is a growing desire for the preparation of suitable text-books based on information furnished possibly by the Secretariat of the League of Nations. These text-books, which would be studied by the younger generation, would acquaint them with what has been done in the sphere of international co-operation.

The League organisation which everyone agrees is the most suitable for dealing with this interesting question is the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. On account of the high moral and intellectual standing of its members, nearly all of whom are acquainted with educa-

tional questions, the Committee will, with the valuable assistance of experts, be in a position to find the best means of realising this object.

The International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation would also greatly facilitate this task by calling upon its services to investigate the subject thoroughly in close co-operation with associations in all countries which are pursuing the same object and with the delegates of Governments on the Institute. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation possesses in its 30 National Committees invaluable allies who enable it to obtain information and facilitate, by their constant action on public opinion, the execution of the agreed programme.

The Government of Uruguay has shown itself particularly interested in this question.

The Second Committee desires to point out that the delegate of that country, M. Fernandez y Medina, towards the end of the session, made a proposal which the Fifth Assembly had not time to discuss, but which it referred to the present Assembly. M. Fernandez y Medina proposed that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation should be instructed by the Council to invite teachers and professors to collaborate in the work of the League of Nations.

The Second Committee requests the Assembly to approve the Report of the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to adopt the following draft Resolutions (see page 16 for text).

ANNEX IX.—*Report of the Second Committee on the proposal for establishing an International Relief Union.* (Rapporteur: His Excellency M. Fernandez y Medina, Delegate of Uruguay.)

The Fifth Assembly had requested the Council to entrust a special committee with the study of Senator Ciraolo's scheme for establishing an International Relief Union against calamities. This committee was to endeavour, in conjunction with the Secretary-General, to determine the sphere within which the Union would be called upon to take action, the approximate needs which would have to be met and the contribution which would appear to be necessary from each State in order to ensure the execution of the scheme. These investigations were to lead to concrete proposals to be laid before the Council so that, after consultation with the various Governments, it might submit to the Assembly such resolution as it considered desirable.

The Preparatory Committee was appointed by the Council at its session in Rome in December 1924. It met in Geneva and Paris and made a careful study of Senator Ciraolo's scheme and of the observations of certain Governments, delegations to the Fifth Assembly and Red Cross organisations. On the conclusion of its work, while maintaining intact the principles on which the initial scheme was based, the Committee arrived at the formula which was

submitted to the Council and forwarded by it to the Governments and to the Sixth Assembly.

The Statute drawn up by the Preparatory Committee provides for the establishment of a permanent autonomous organisation having at its disposal a moderate initial fund which will in no way impose a heavy burden on the Governments, but which will nevertheless be sufficient to secure the working of the organisation and provide for its primary requirements. But the generous assistance of the people will nevertheless be possible and even necessary, and appeals for such assistance will be made.

The Organisation should make it possible, without delay, without waste of funds and without duplication of work, to employ effectively the funds placed at its disposal by the public and the Governments. In fact, it would be a permanent, impartial, active and competent institution capable of affording immediate assistance and of giving every guarantee by permitting strict supervision and a large measure of publicity as to the employment of its funds.

At the same time, by giving the Red Cross the principal share in its work the Organisation would carry out the provisions of article 25 of the Covenant.

The Preparatory Committee has confined itself to this modest and at the same time elastic form, which, in its opinion, corresponds to a new idea of international co-operation and solidarity of which the development, effect and means are very difficult to decide in advance.

The Committee also awaited the observations of the Governments and delegations to the Assembly, in order, with their necessary co-operation, to draw up a formula which would no doubt be more perfect than that of the draft submitted.

The Council of the League of Nations was pleased to approve the Committee's work, and, after communicating the scheme to the Governments, forwarded it to the Sixth Assembly with the request "to consider the possibility of placing the question on its agenda for discussion. The statement of the objects of the Union and the text of the draft statutes as established by the Assembly as a result of that discussion might be communicated to the various Governments."

The Second Committee considered the draft very carefully. During the discussion some very interesting observations were submitted with regard to the definition of disasters, and in particular with reference to the possibility of including in the Union's sphere of action certain disasters to which territories as extensive as India or China are exposed. Observations were also made in respect of the work of the Advisory Committee and the necessity for its existence, the Executive Committee's powers, the amount of the initial fund and the future obligations of the Governments in case the fund should have to be refilled, certain legal principles relating to the character of the Union and the powers of its General Council in respect of the revision of the fundamental statute, and the part played by the Red Cross and other charitable organisations.

The Finnish Delegate, M. Erich, submitted a personal proposal, which is not without interest, with regard to relief which might be granted to

a nation subject to an act of aggression; it appeared to him that such an act might come within the sphere of the Geneva Protocol at the same time as within that of the International Relief Union.

These discussions clearly showed that a great number of States represented on the Committee and even other States not members of the League, such as Germany, approved the fundamental idea of establishing the International Relief Union. It appeared, however, that it was still necessary to consult with all the Governments, as it had been impossible to arrange for such consultation prior to the Sixth Assembly, and that the Preparatory Committee must investigate the changes to be introduced in the scheme while taking into consideration the observations and suggestions of the Second Committee and those to be received from the Governments.

The Second Committee, therefore, unanimously adopted the following Resolution. (See page 12 for text.)

ANNEX X.—Report of the Third Committee on the draft Resolutions submitted by the Spanish and Netherlands Delegations and the Hungarian amendment to the Spanish draft Resolution, regarding Arbitration Security, and Reduction of Armaments, and particularly the proposed Conference for the Reduction of Armaments. (Rapporteur: His Excellency Dr. E. Benes, Czechoslovakia.)

The Committee was instructed by the Assembly to examine the draft resolutions submitted by the Spanish and Netherlands Delegations and the Hungarian amendment to the Spanish draft resolution, with a view to arriving at a single text. The Committee thought that the Spanish proposal could be divided into two parts, the first of which (consisting of the first seven paragraphs) formed a kind of preamble to the second part (consisting of the last paragraph).

As both the Hungarian amendment and the Netherlands resolution belong to the category, of questions to which the second part relates, it has been necessary to consider separately, on the one hand, the preamble of the Spanish resolution, on the other hand, the last paragraph of that resolution, the Hungarian amendment and the Netherlands resolution.

First Part.—PREAMBLE.

This discussion and the precise wording of the preamble devolved upon the First Committee, but in view of the fact that certain doubts were raised in the Third Committee with regard to the meaning to be given to the passages in this preamble concerning the Protocol, the Third Committee, while fully bearing in mind

the declarations made to the Assembly by certain delegations explaining why their Governments had not been able to sign and ratify the Protocol, notes that, in voting this resolution, the Sixth Assembly remains faithful to the ideas expressed during the debates of the Fifth Assembly, namely, that the peace of the world depends upon the application of the three great principles—arbitration, security, and disarmament, and if it has not been possible to arrive at the desired end, namely, peace and general security, by the immediate application of the universal system laid down in the Protocol, it considers it possible and necessary to secure the same end gradually by means of a system of partial agreements which may eventually become wider in scope and more general.

Second Part.—LAST PARAGRAPH OF THE SPANISH RESOLUTION, HUNGARIAN AMENDMENT AND NETHERLANDS RESOLUTION.

This group of texts raises two problems, closely related but distinct; the preparatory studies with a view to the reduction and limitation of armaments, and the organisation to which these preparatory investigations should be entrusted by the Council.

I.—Preparatory Studies and the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

The Spanish proposal contemplates that the Council should make preparatory arrangements for a conference for the reduction of armaments as soon as, in its opinion, from the point of view of general security, satisfactory conditions have been reached in accordance with Resolution XIV of the Third Assembly.

The Committee has examined the question of the preparatory investigations into the reduction and limitation of armaments in the light of opinions expressed during the discussions of the Assembly, the Third Committee and the Subcommittee created by the Third Committee. The Committee has noted the existence of at least two currents of opinion.

On the one hand, a certain number of delegations have expressed doubts whether, before the Council commits itself too definitely to preparatory investigations for the reduction and limitation of armaments, it would not be preferable to await the results of the negotiations now being carried on with a view to the conclusion of a Security Pact and also the effects which the successful issue of such negotiations might have on the preparation and conclusion of other similar agreements. Those delegations thought, in fact, that this reduction and limitation could have no solid foundation until the political conditions under which they would be carried out were defined, and as these political conditions, in their turn, react upon the problem, those delegations considered that great importance was to be attached to the moment when the preparatory studies should begin. On this subject, the Italian Delegate made certain reservations; he considered that such preliminary studies were useless, but if they were regarded as absolutely necessary he would withdraw his opposition, while pointing out the danger which they might involve either by reason of their excessive scope or by their publicity, which might

be to the advantage of Powers still outside the League of Nations. He added that, in his opinion, the reduction and limitation of armaments could only be achieved on a political basis.

Other delegations, however, thought that, while deferring until the most suitable moment—to be chosen by the Council—the convocation of an international conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, it was essential that the preliminary work should be begun without delay. In the view of these Delegations, there would be serious objections to delaying this preparatory work until the political atmosphere was favourable to the summoning of the conference, since, when that time came, it would be of the utmost importance not to delay for one moment the realisation of the efforts of the League of Nations in this direction. The Brazilian and Chilean Delegations pointed out that, for the Latin-American countries, the problem was not one of reduction of armaments, but merely of limitation. The Spanish Delegation said that this equally applied to certain European countries. The Chilean Delegation proposed that, in view of the changes in the general situation due to the inability of certain nations to adopt the Protocol, the task of the Co-ordination Commission was reduced strictly, to the terms of Resolution No. IV of the Fifth Assembly. The Chilean Delegation also pointed out that valuable work had been done in 1923 in the Temporary Mixed Commission on the subject of the mutual control of armaments by means of regional committees formed on the same basis as the regional pacts which are at the moment being discussed.

Other delegations, including those of Belgium, Denmark, France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, insisted on the necessity of immediately initiating preliminary studies on the widest possible basis, and with the collaboration of all the technical organisations of the League, so that, when the conditions of general security are such that the Council deems it possible to convene the international conference, the problem may, from the technical point of view, be ripe for a concrete solution. The Belgian and Brazilian Delegations pointed out the advisability in this connection of examining the relations between the problem of disarmament and the problems raised by the scheme for an economic conference laid before the Assembly by the French Delegation.

The French Delegation, supported by the Polish Delegation, definitely stated that the preparatory studies in question could obviously only bear upon the programme of a possible conference and could include neither concrete study of the resources of any particular country nor, *a fortiori*, investigations. It considered it advisable, however, with the aid of such theoretical studies, to bring out the elements of the question, namely, the relation between military power and peace armaments in any particular country, rapidity of mobilisation, &c.

It appeared to the Committee that these two points of view could be reconciled. On the one hand, though it is premature to contemplate immediately in all its details the convening of an international conference, it is none the less possible to proceed with preliminary enquiries with a view to this eventuality, in so far as they

may relate to all these questions which are not directly affected by the international political situation. Further, as the Chairman of the Sub-Committee, M. de Brouckère, pointed out, the Council is bound by Article 8 of the Covenant to proceed to such investigations with a view to disarmament. The Committee has therefore agreed upon the following text, which it submits to the Assembly in place of the last paragraph of the Spanish Resolution:—

The Assembly

And, in conformity with the spirit of article 8 of the Covenant, requests the Council to make a preparatory study with a view to a Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments in order that, as soon as satisfactory conditions have been assured from the point of view of general security as provided for in Resolution XIV of the Third Assembly, the said Conference may be convened and a general reduction and limitation of armaments may be realised.

The exact interpretation of this text, which is the result of a compromise, is as follows:—

- (1) The paragraph in question, in the first place, fixes the present field of activity of the Council in respect of reduction and limitation of armaments, inviting it to *make a preparatory study with a view to a conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments as understood in Resolution XIV.*
- (2) In regard to the programme of these preparatory studies, the Committee refrained from discussing them, in agreement with the point of view expressed by the British, French, and Italian Delegates that this was a matter for the Council to decide. It rests with the Council to examine very carefully any studies already made, as well as proposals which may be laid before it by States Members of the League.
- (3) In regard to the time at which the preparatory studies might and should be begun by the Council, the resolution confirms the opinion of the majority of the delegations that it is highly desirable not to delay for one moment the realisation of the efforts made by the League in this direction. Although it is not expressly said that these preparatory studies should be entered upon at once or "immediately," the text makes it clear that any inactivity of the Council in this respect, apart from not being in conformity with article 8 of the Covenant, would fail to meet the ideas of the Sixth Assembly with regard to the problem of the reduction and the limitation of armaments.

But it is for the Council to choose the moment which it may deem opportune for initiating each of the preparatory studies in order that these studies may be completed and the conference immediately summoned as soon as the general political situation is favourable for the holding of such a conference.

II.—Permanent Council Organisation for Work on Disarmament.

With regard to the organisation responsible for the execution of this work, the Committee has examined the Resolution of the Fifth Assembly on the subject and also the Council's Resolution of 3rd October 1924, instituting the Co-ordination Commission. The Committee had also studied the various criticisms and observations made in plenary meetings of the Committee and in the Sub-Committee with regard to this organisation. These criticisms and observations may be summed up as follows:—

In the opinion of certain delegations, the Co-ordination Commission was not constituted on a sufficiently wide and democratic basis. While recognising the advantage of having representatives of all States Members of the Council, those delegations consider that other Governments also should be represented. The Polish Delegate suggested adding to the final paragraph of the Council's Resolution concerning the creation of the Co-ordination Commission, which runs as follows:—

If considered advisable a certain number of experts—jurists and others—appointed by the Council,

the following sentence:—

The Council, in nominating experts, should take into account the necessity for including in the Commission the representatives of countries placed by their geographical position in a special position as regards the problem of disarmament, when such countries were not in other ways represented on the Commission.

Certain delegations also consider that it would be advisable for all members of the Co-ordination Commission to sit there on an equal footing. The French Delegate expressed the opinion that the defects pointed out in the working of the Co-ordination Commission might easily be remedied if the Council drew up rules of procedure; the Commission being an advisory one, all the members would be able to take part in discussions and to vote, while the final decision would always remain with the Council. On the other hand, the Italian Delegate made reservations on this point, being of opinion that the vote should only be given to authorised representatives of States Members of the Council and never to those Members who sit in any other capacity; while the Commission only gives opinions, such opinions always constitute a moral and therefore political pronouncement.

Criticisms have also been raised with regard to the title of the Commission. Some delegations look upon this title as too abstract and as marking no connection with the object for which the Commission was created. They would prefer a title more in harmony with the work carried out by the Commission and they proposed that its title should be "Commission of Enquiry on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments."

Lastly, the Committee notes that the opinion has been expressed almost unanimously and very definitely that the staff of the permanent Secretariat upon whom will devolve the work resulting from the preliminary studies should be increased.

In view of these considerations, the Committee proposes that the Assembly adopt the following Resolution:—

"The Assembly takes note of the Council resolution dated 3rd October 1924, establishing the Co-ordination Commission, and invites the attention of the Council to the suggestions made during the proceedings of the Third Committee, as contained in the report submitted to the Assembly, with regard both to the designation and the composition of that Commission, and also to the necessity of determining its rules of procedure."

ANNEX XI.—*Report of the Third Committee on the question of the Manufacture of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War.* (Rapporteur: M. Guerrero, Salvador.)

In entering upon the study of the question of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms, ammunition, and implements of war, the Committee had under its consideration, on the one hand, the decisions taken by the last Assembly and by the Council, and, on the other, the declaration contained in the Final Act¹ of the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War drawn up at Geneva in June this year.

The Fifth Assembly had requested the Council to invite the Temporary Mixed Commission to investigate this question anew and with an entirely open mind and to prepare a draft international Convention, taking into account any new circumstances which may have arisen since the report of the Temporary Commission was submitted to the Assembly.

The Fifth Assembly had already considered a meeting of an international Conference.

As a result of investigations made by the Co-ordination Commission, the successor to the Temporary Mixed Commission, in virtue of the resolutions of the Assembly and Council thereon, the Committee of the Council decided that the drafting of a convention should be postponed until the results of the Conference for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War were known.

This is now the case.

The results are such as to encourage the Council to continue along the lines suggested by the Fifth Assembly, since the international Conference held at Geneva in May and June was able to bring into being in a relatively short time a Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War with the support of important States not belonging to the League of Nations.

¹That the Convention of to-day's date must be considered as an important step towards a general system of international agreements regarding arms and ammunition and implements of war, and that it is desirable that the international aspect of the manufacture of such arms, ammunition and implements of war should receive early consideration by the different Governments.

During the debates of this Conference, as is shown in the minutes submitted by the Secretariat to the Assembly (Document A, 13, 1925, IX), many delegations gave emphatic expression to the importance which they attached to the system laid down by the Convention for the supervision of the trade being completed by a similar system for manufacture of arms.

In the opinion of these delegates, such a Convention was indispensable to the re-establishment of equality between producing and non-producing States, since the application of the principles of licences and publicity, which the 1925 Convention imposed upon the international trade in arms, would place non-producing countries in an inferior position to those countries which could procure arms from factories within their own territory and thus escape publicity. The declaration inserted in the Final Act of the 1925 Convention and mentioned above reflects this line of thought.

Similar opinions were expressed by members of our Committee.

The Committee held that the point of view of the delegations which considered that the moment had arrived for preparing as quickly as possible an international Conference, in order to conclude a Convention for the Supervision of the Manufacture of Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War, was in agreement with the action taken by previous Assemblies and by the Council. It therefore thought that the Assembly should be invited to adopt the following resolution, in which had been incorporated the desire already expressed by the Fifth Assembly that the closest possible collaboration should be established with the United States Government in the preparation of this Conference; the Committee thought that, in order to be effective, a Convention of this kind must be so devised as to receive the approval of producing countries.

ANNEX XII.—*General Report of the Fourth Committee on Financial Questions.* (General Rapporteur: His Excellency M. Stefanò Cavazzoni, Italy.)

The Fourth Committee distributed its work this year in the same way as in former years. It set up the three following Committees:—(a) Contributions in arrears; (b) Construction of an Assembly Hall; (c) Allocation of expenses; and it requested each Sub-Committee to appoint a *rapporteur* to represent it before the Fourth Committee and at the Assembly. Further, the Fourth Committee requested in its General Rapporteur to deal in his report with all the other items in its agenda.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1924.

The Committee unanimously recommended to the Sixth Assembly the adoption of the accounts of the various League organisations in the form in which they were submitted.

On the proposal of one of its members, it recommended that an amendment should be made to article 4 of the Financial Regulations regarding the auditor, with a view to his replacement,

if necessary, by a deputy. The Supervisory Commission, which had already placed this question on its agenda, submitted to the Fourth Committee the following amendment to the Financial Regulations, which it is proposed that the Assembly should adopt:—

Article 4, new para. 4:—

- (4) The Council shall, if necessary, appoint a deputy auditor to assist and replace the auditor in case of need. Paras. 1 and 3 of the present article, and articles 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, and 48 shall apply to the deputy auditor.

The Committee took note of a statement by the Secretary-General to the effect that it would not perhaps be expedient at present to make any fixed arrangement as regards allowances to be paid to members of *ad hoc* Commissions like that which visited Mosul last winter. The Secretary-General thought that it would be wiser and probably more economical to leave it to the Council to deal with these cases according to their special circumstances.

At the request of one of the members of the Committee, the Secretary-General agreed that, in the document relating to the accounts for the past financial period, the annual balance-sheet for the Staff Provident Fund should in future show the total moneys and the securities in hand, the investments which had been made, as well as the incomings and the outgoings, in the course of each completed year. The Committee was further informed that the balance-sheet of the Fund for the financial period 1924 had been communicated to all officials who were members of the Fund at the time when it was submitted to the Council.

II.—BUDGET FOR 1926.

A.—Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League.

During the discussion on the item referring to the salaries of the Secretariat, the Committee was reminded by the Secretary-General that, according to a recommendation formulated by the Supervisory Commission and adopted by the Fifth Assembly, "a probationary official whose permanent appointment is confirmed on the expiration of his probationary period may, in exceptional cases, when his appointment is confirmed, receive an increase in salary corresponding to one or more years' seniority." The application of this decision explains the increase in certain salaries over the figure entered in last year's budget.

In reply to a question asked by a member of the Committee, the Secretary-General explained that the relations between an official of the League of Nations and the League were regulated by the contract concluded between the League and the official, supplemented by the Staff Regulations. Accordingly, the Staff Regulations constitute a guarantee for the official; they also contain provisions granting the right of appeal to the Council of the League.

The budget of the International Health Organisation was adopted, in the form submitted to the Committee.

The Committee noted the opinion of the Health Committee that the budget of the Organisation might be fixed at the sum asked for in respect of the 1926 financial period in so far as the general budget of the League remained within its present limits and provided that the Assembly and the Council imposed no new tasks upon the League. The Committee thought that it was undesirable to restrict the work of the Health Organisation within fixed limits; at the same time, it recommended that its investigations should be limited to those of a clearly international kind.

After a long discussion, the Committee unanimously agreed with the suggestions put forward by the Supervisory Commission, which had stated in its last report that "a certain proportion should be maintained both between the budgets of the various organisations themselves and between the budget of each organisation and the budget of the League as a whole; otherwise, budget equilibrium might be disturbed and the usefulness of the League's work seriously impaired."

The Committee unanimously agreed to the proposal of the Second Committee for the convening of a General Economic Conference in 1926. For this purpose, it entered the sum of 200,000 francs in the budget to cover the expenses and the preparatory work of the Conference.

B.—International Labour Organisation.

The Director of the International Labour Office, after referring to the numerous channels through which the budget of the International Labour Organisation passes before being submitted to the Fourth Committee, explained the circumstances in which the 1926 budget of the Organisation had been voted by the Governing Body. M. Albert Thomas desired to supplement the information already given in the introductory note by the further statement that the budget had been accepted by 22 votes to 1.

In reply to a member of the Committee who stated that, as regards staff, it was difficult to compare the budget of the Office for 1926 with that of the previous financial periods, the Director of the Labour Office explained that increasingly numerous requests had necessitated a thorough reorganisation of the Labour Office, which involved new work. In order to avoid creating further new posts, a large number of transfers had been effected among the staff.

The Committee took note of a statement by the Director that he would consider an observation made by one of the members of the Committee, to the effect that the interests of States which had no Correspondents' Office of the Labour Organisation and which were not represented by any of their nationals in the Research Section, should not be neglected when fixing the programme of enquiries to be undertaken.

The Director of the Labour Office accepted in principle the suggestion of one of the members of the Committee that the Labour Office Library should publish annually a bibliographical bulletin indicating all works dealing with the activities of the International Labour Office which had appeared during the previous 12 months.

The Committee noted with satisfaction the result of the negotiations with the German Government regarding the German contribution in arrears. Thanks to the negotiations which had been instituted by the Director of the Labour Office, with the support of the Supervisory Commission, the whole of these arrears, amounting to 836,000 francs, had recently been collected.

The Fourth Committee approved the supplementary credits of 200,000 francs for the interior and exterior installations of the new International Labour Office building. These fresh credits will bring the total cost of the new building up to 3,200,000 francs.

With regard to the credits asked for the construction of a sewer for the new building, the Committee after hearing the opinion of the Director of the International Labour Office, agreed with the solution proposed by the health authorities of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, *viz.*, that a sewer should be constructed linking up the new building with the main collector on the Quai W. Wilson. The Committee further considered that, since this new sewer would ultimately serve other users, the contribution of the League of Nations towards the cost ought in equity not to exceed 50,000 francs. It therefore recommended that the Assembly should authorise M. Albert Thomas to come to an arrangement with the Republic and Canton of Geneva by which the Genevese authorities would accept this sum as the contribution of the League of Nations towards the cost of constructing the new sewer.

C.—Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Committee adopted without modification the draft budget submitted to it by the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

III.—REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

Subject to the observations which follow, the Fourth Committee adopted the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission. It gave special consideration to the following points:—

Regarding the question of the appropriation of the 1924 surplus and the constitution of a building fund for the League, the Fourth Committee proposed to the Assembly:—

- (a) That from the consolidated 1924 surplus (amounting to 9,395,721·35 francs) there be taken the sum of 2,110,420 francs, in order to complete the sum of 3,200,000 francs agreed to for the erection of the office building for the International Labour Office (including interior and exterior installation) and to cover the contribution of the League, amounting to 50,000 francs, for the construction of the new sewer, and that the sum thus withdrawn be placed at the disposal of the Director of the International Labour Office as and when required for the payment of the final construction expenses.
- (b) That the remainder of the surplus of 1924 (amounting to 7,285,301·35 francs) be placed in a special bank account as

from 1st October 1925, the said account to be henceforth known as the "League Building Fund," the interest on the unemployed portion, as thereafter earned, to be added to the principal of the fund.

- (c) That the contributions received from the Argentine Republic in respect of the fourth and fifth financial periods (when the Argentine was not included in the allocations statement) be also included in the League Building Fund, together with such interest as shall have accrued thereon since 20th October 1924.

And further recommends:—

1. That the Argentine contribution in respect of the sixth financial period be likewise included in the League Building Fund as from date of payment.
2. That a recommendation to the Seventh Assembly should be approved to the effect that the consolidated surplus, if any, arising from the financial operations of the seventh financial period (1925) be, on 1st July 1926, added to and included in the said fund.
3. That a statement be furnished to the Seventh Assembly showing, as on 1st July 1926, the proportional interest of each Member in the League Building Fund.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission explained to the Fourth Committee that, as soon as the Building Fund was fully constituted, the sum entered each year in the budget under the heading "Terminable annuity payable on account of building operations of the League" (see budget for 1926, page 3, part IV), should go to indemnify States in proportion as, by the prompt payment of their contributions, they had contributed to the 1924 and 1925 surpluses. This indemnification would take the form either of an annual payment in money or of a reduction in the contributions.

The Committee approved the new proposals of the Secretary-General concerning the Intermediate Grade of the Staff. The Statutes of the Secretariat will therefore in future provide for two grades with an initial salary of 10,000 francs, rising respectively to 14,400 francs and 16,250 francs. On the proposal of the Supervisory Commission, the Committee also decided to prolong until 1935 the period during which a supplementary indemnity may be granted to officials of the various League organisations who reach the age-limit.

The Fourth Committee considered that, owing to the nature of the question and in the absence of a specific recommendation from the Supervisory Commission, it could not immediately decide whether, in view of the fact that, by a decision of the Fifth Assembly, the Chiefs of Division were not entitled to participate in the Provident Fund, it should re-establish in favour of the Chiefs of Divisions of the International Labour Office the article of the original Staff Regulations which provided for an indemnity on the termination of contract. The Committee requested the Supervisory Commission to investigate the whole question and to inform the next Assembly whether it considered it advisable to comply with the request made by the Director of

the International Labour Office on the instructions of his Governing Body.

The Fourth Committee also considered a report from the Board of Management of the Staff Provident Fund, which had been transmitted by the Supervisory Commission, and approved the latter's conclusions, to the effect that "the Commission, keeping in view that the object of the Provident Fund was pensionary in character, was unanimous in considering that the portion of a member's account which represents the contributions of the League and the interest thereon ought to be paid out to the dependents of the deceased member." If the Assembly accepts this resolution, it will then be the duty of the Board of Management to submit to the Council at the proper time a draft amendment to article 6 of the Statutes of the Provident Fund.

For several reasons, and particularly in view of certain budgetary difficulties which had arisen, the Supervisory Commission had instructed its *rapporteur* to report upon the organisation and staff of the Secretariat of the League. After a very detailed enquiry, the *Rapporteur* submitted to the Supervisory Commission a report containing the following conclusions, which it has noted with great satisfaction and which the Fourth Committee decided to transmit to the Assembly:—

- (a) Of the criticisms which have been directed against the organisation of the staff and the work of the Secretariat, some relate to defects incidental to the organisation period, while the remainder are in general unfounded or else based upon an incorrect interpretation of facts.
- (b) The Secretariat and its organisation, the competence of its staff and the quality of their work are, generally speaking, more than satisfactory and are, in my opinion, in no way below the standard which may be reasonably expected from any service, national or international.
- (c) The method of recruitment, appointments and promotion of the staff seem to me to give no just cause for criticism. I have found no trace of favouritism. In the very few cases in which an official did not reach the standard required, I was glad to see that the necessary action was taken and that he was refused promotion or, where necessary, dismissed.
- (d) Save perhaps in a few exceptional cases, the work is well distributed and members of the staff are not called on to perform work which could be done equally well by officials of a lower grade with a smaller salary.
- (e) Although, as in every public administration, there may be times when work is light (such periods, however, are becoming very rare in the Secretariat), I was continually struck by the fact that, whenever in the course of my inspection I had to investigate this point, everybody was fully employed. It should be noted that the Committees, whose number and whose work are continually increasing, are a constant stimulus to the Secretariat staff.

(f) The number of the staff appears to be suitable for the amount of work to be done and for the methods of work required, so that, generally speaking, it will not be possible to economise on staff unless either the work is lessened or the methods can be changed.

(g) In certain cases I found that criticisms passed on the Secretariat by "outsiders" were well founded, but in all these cases, and even in almost every case where I thought it necessary to make any criticisms myself, I was able to ascertain that the question had already been under consideration, a circumstance which has inspired me with confidence in the general conduct of affairs.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

(a) The Committee noted the report prepared by the Secretary-General on the financial position of the League on 31st August 1925. It noted with satisfaction that the payment of contributions was, generally speaking, regularly made and that the financial position might be considered satisfactory.

(b) The Committee noted the report of the Council and of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office on new works involving additional expenditure on the part of the League, and it expressed the desire that this report should be continued in future.

(c) On the proposal of one of its members, the Committee decided to insist once more on the recommendation which it had made at its previous session concerning the advisability of holding all sessions of conferences and commissions of the League at Geneva, so far as this was possible, with the exception, of course, of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Committee noted that it would be good policy financially for the organisations concerned to comply with the resolution passed on this matter by the Fifth Assembly.

(d) The Committee approved the proposal that in the case of Members of the Latin-American office the normal engagement of three years should, in future, allow of renewal.

(e) After a long discussion on the "representation" of the various nationalities on the Secretariat, the Committee unanimously decided, on the proposal of the Chairman, to express in the Minutes and in the report their admiration for the spirit in which the Secretary-General had, from the beginning, given his co-operation in the work of the League. Without wishing in any way to encroach upon the provisions of article 6 of the Covenant, which made the Secretary-General entirely responsible, subject to the necessary approval of the Council, for the recruitment of the staff of the Secretariat, the Committee noted with satisfaction the assurance given by the Secretary-General that States "represented" inadequately or not at all shall, pre-supposing equal qualifications in their candidates, have priority when new posts are to be filled. The Committee noted, moreover, that the Secretary-General had for several years followed this line of action; last year, for

instance, five nationals of countries not yet "represented" on the Secretariat had been appointed.

The Director of the International Labour Office explained the difficulties in regard to the appointment of new officials which resulted from the system of budgetary compression which had been applied for the last two years to the budget of the organisation. He reminded the Committee that he had always endeavoured to increase both the number of nationalities "represented" and the number of members of certain nationalities inadequately "represented," but he thought he ought to point out that there were limits to what he could do in this way—and especially limits imposed by the desire to ensure promotion of the present staff and by the actual duties to be discharged (for instance, translators). However, he stated that he was ready to give favourable consideration to the question of the possibility of extending to South America the system of competition examination now in force at the Labour Office, in order to enable a larger number of young Latin-Americans to take part in the work of the office.

(f) The Committee noted with regret that the negotiations which had been entered into with the International Telegraphic Union and various railway and shipping companies with a view to securing reduced rates for the officials of the League and Press rates for its telegrams had met with no success. Considering that fresh efforts should be made, the Committee decided to transmit to the Second Committee the suggestion which was made to it by one of its members to the effect that the Assembly should direct the Secretary-General to address to the International Telegraphic Conference now sitting at Paris a letter urging the Conference to consider favourably the possibility of recommending the concession by telegraph companies to the Secretariat and the International Labour Office of telegraphic rates equivalent to those granted to representatives of the Press.

(g) The Secretary-General undertook to consider, in conjunction with the Supervisory Commission, whether the Library Department of the Secretariat—if possible without any extra budget expenditure—could draw up at least once a year a bibliographical bulletin giving a list of all the publications which had appeared with reference to the League of Nations and its work.

(h) The Committee decided to submit to the Supervisory Commission, for any action it may think necessary, the letter which at its request was sent to one of its members by the Chairman of the Board of Management of the Provident Fund with regard to the present position of the Death and Invalidity Fund.

(i) The Secretary-General accepted the suggestion of one of the members of the Committee that in future the confidential list of staff sent to the Governments should indicate the date on which officials were engaged and the duration of their contracts.

(j) The Committee took note of the Secretary-General's memorandum submitting to the Assembly the amendments made in the Regulations of the Staff Provident Fund by the Council since the last Assembly. The Fourth

Committee recommends the Assembly, in conformity with article 20 of the Regulations, to approve these amendments.

In conclusion, I think it would be well to make a general survey of the progress accomplished with regard to financial administration and to glance at the reports of our distinguished predecessors.

The report submitted by Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga to the Second Assembly contained several recommendations for the organisation of a practical and satisfactory administration of the finances of the League, which had not yet been established on a definite basis. The *Rapporteur*, interpreting the recommendations and resolutions of the Committee, emphasised the difficulties encountered during the initial period of organisation with regard to the limitation of expenditure and explained the Fourth Committee's desires, particularly with regard to the organisation and operation of a Supervisory Commission, the Working Capital Fund and to the important question of the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

His Excellency M. Mineitciro Adatei, General *Rapporteur* for the 1923 budget, specially emphasised in his report the services rendered by the Supervisory Commission, which had greatly assisted the task of the Fourth Committee, and he expressed the conviction that the Financial Regulations which had been adopted would give the States Members of the League every guarantee of sound financial administration.

In his report to the Fourth Assembly, M. Cristobal Botella noted that, notwithstanding the coming into force on 1st January 1923 of the Financial Regulations, and the great activity displayed by the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee had again had a very heavy agenda. Despite the considerable reductions in expenditure already made by the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee, wishing to place the finances of the League on a sound basis, had adopted a new programme of important reductions, and the budget of expenditure for 1924 showed a decrease of approximately 4,000,000 gold francs, or 15½ per cent. as compared with the budget expenditure of the previous financial period.

His Excellency M. Auguste de Vasconcellos, General *Rapporteur* for the budget of the present financial year, observed in his report that the way in which the League's finances had been managed might serve as an example to the most conscientious administrations, and he added: "Most of the initial difficulties connected with the finances of the League have been definitely overcome. The sound, healthy, and orderly manner in which the finances are managed reflects credit upon the entire institution."

The 1923 financial period closed with a surplus of 2,774,854 gold francs; but the *Rapporteur* wisely and conscientiously added: "It must, however, be emphasised that this satisfactory situation was not attained until this year, and then only as the result of prudent and economical administration; it is absolutely essential that the same policy should be followed lest the success of the organisation which it has taken

such great care and energy to build up should be endangered."

The hope expressed by my distinguished predecessor has been happily fulfilled, thanks, above all, to the very successful efforts of the administrative bodies of the League, during the 1924 financial period. Among the factors contributing to this success were: (1) the payments made by the States Members of the League in respect of the 1924 financial period, which amounted for the first time to 83.2 per cent. of the total sums due (this constitutes a remarkable increase on the percentage of 1923, which was 61.7); (2) the payments of contributions in arrears by several States; these amounted to over 8,000,000 gold francs out of about 13,000,000 which were due.

In conclusion, I wish to point out, in the first place, that, thanks to the efforts of the Secretariat, the Supervisory Commission and the Auditor, the administration of the League is progressing in the most satisfactory manner and is based on the soundest and strictest rules.

We are glad to record the fact that the balance-sheet of the League shows the very appreciable surplus for the three organisations of 9,395,721.35 gold francs. Moreover, the *Working Capital Fund*, constituted to meet any difficulties which might arise from delay in the payment of contributions, amounted on 31st August to 4,352,423.11 gold francs. In addition, the purchase price of the Hotel National was paid off one year in advance and a considerable sum not provided for in the budget was added to the fund set aside for the construction of a new building for the League.

The fact that the Fourth Committee has been able this year to conclude the examination of the questions on its agenda in a comparatively short time is largely due to the Supervisory Commission, whose reports have continually guided it in its work. It is also only just to mention the debt of gratitude which the Committee owes to its distinguished Chairman, His Excellency M. Affonso da Costa, who has presided over its debates with tact, impartiality, and authority.

ANNEX XII(A).—Memorandum by the Financial Director on the Financial Operations of the League and action thereon taken by the Sixth Assembly.

Gold francs.

1. The approved budget for 1926 amounts to	22,930,633
which sum is divided as follows:—	
(a) Expenses of the Secretariat and special organisations (<i>see Note 1</i>)	12,533,004
(b) Expenses of the International Labour Office (<i>see Note 2</i>)	7,114,933
(c) Expenses of the Permanent Court of International Justice (<i>see Note 3</i>)	1,907,691
(d) Annuity for buildings at Geneva	1,375,000
Total budget for 1926, as above	22,930,633

Gold francs.

2. Unit valuation for 1926, 22,930,633 divided by 937	24,472.39
3. Unit valuation for 1925 was 22,658,138 divided by 932	24,113.31
Hence the unit for 1926 will be 161.08 greater than that of 1925.	
4. Financial position of the League on 1st September 1925:—	
(a) Receipts from contributions between 1st January and 31st August 1925 (<i>see Note 4</i>)	17,593,661.57
(b) Sums receivable to 31st August 1925 (<i>see Note 5</i>)	14,222,638.42
5. Contributions in arrears:—	
(a) As on 1st January 1925	8,295,671.20
Reduced by payments amounting to	2,514,574.29
(b) Amounts remaining unpaid on 1st September 1925	5,771,096.91
(c) Arrears remitted by resolutions of the Sixth Assembly	...
6. Sum received from the Argentine Republic towards the budgets of 1922 and 1923 and transferred to the Building Fund Account	1,927,184.35
7. Value (without depreciation) of the Hotel National and contents, approximately	6,902,481.75
Ditto, after writing off depreciation of 1,960,735.09	4,944,746.66
8. Authorised expenditure for the new International Labour Office building (<i>see Note 6</i>)	3,350,000
9. Estimated cost of the proposed new Conference Hall	7,000,000 to 8,000,000
10. Estimated cost of the Secretariat extension	1,700,000
11. The sum included in the budget of 1925 for the work of the Disarmament Section is	838,475
It is not expected that there will be a general conference on disarmament during 1926.	
12. The sums included in the 1926 budget for new work are as follows:—	
(a) For the establishment of the Armenians	50,000
(b) Committee of Experts on Co-operation with the Press	30,000
Total	80,000

NOTES.

1. The expenses of the Secretariat and Special Organisation include:—	
(a) Ordinary expenditure	12,365,004
(b) On capital account	168,000
Total	12,533,004
2. The expenses of the International Labour Office include:—	
(a) Ordinary expenditure	7,091,720
(b) On capital account	75,000
(c) Special expenditure on refugees	303,000
	7,469,720
Deduct:—(a) Estimated receipts from Publications, etc.	80,000
(b) German contribution	274,882
	354,782
Net total	7,114,938

Gold francs.

3. The expenses of the Permanent Court of International Justice include:—

(a) Ordinary expenditure	1,900,401
(b) On capital account	7,290
Total	1,907,691

4. Contributions received between 1st January and 31st August 1925 were made up as follows:—

(a) From arrears of contributions	2,514,574.29
(b) From payments on 1925 budget	14,206,579.49
(c) From the Argentine Republic in respect of 1924	872,507.79
Total	17,593,661.57

5. The sums receivable as on 31st August 1925 were as follows:—

(a) From arrears of contributions	5,771,066.91
(b) From balance due on 1925 budget	8,451,541.51
Total	14,222,608.42

6. The Sixth Assembly decided to devote the sum of 2,110,420 gold francs out of the consolidated surplus of 1924 towards the completion of the International Labour Office building. There had been already expended out of the surplus of 1923 the sum of 1,139,580 gold francs on this building.

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of the Fourth Committee on the Allocation of Expenses.* (Rapporteur: *M. Adachi, Japan.*)

In accordance with the practice adopted in previous years, the Fourth Committee entrusted to a Sub-Committee the task of examining the report submitted to the Assembly by the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses (Document A. 6, 1925, II). On 15th September it further assented to a suggestion put forward by your rapporteur that any delegations having observa-

the most accurate index of capacity to pay is that, through the upheaval caused by the war, most countries are no longer able to preserve a due relation between taxation and their national resources. They have been forced by sheer necessity to levy exorbitant taxes or to resort to the floating of various kinds of loans. The conclusions drawn from an analysis of the budget receipts have therefore lost much of their significance; if we take a recent year the figures are abnormal, and if we take a year previous to 1914, as being normal, the figures have too little relation to the present position. In neither case is the desired object attained.

The best method of escape from this dilemma appears to be to take the other side of the budget—the expenditure side. Suppose that for a given year we are in possession of all the items of every kind which make up the budget expenditure of the respective Members of the League. Any one of these expenditure budgets taken individually will correspond fairly closely to the revenue of the State in question for the same financial year. Thus no essential alteration is made in principle in the method hitherto accepted for determining capacity to pay.

It will, however, be possible to analyse these various expenditure budgets—to eliminate all factors which are abnormal or which are peculiar to certain States, and to retain only those which may be used as “comparable items” in the general analysis.

It has been along these lines that the Allocation Committee, on the request of successive Assemblies, has pursued its labours.

greater part of the total administration is undertaken by the central and in others by the local governments. To compare the various budgets of a Federal with the single budget of a unitary State necessarily involved a number of highly technical problems, some of which are scarcely solvable. Finally, the exchanges of the world are even now by no means stable and were subject to still greater fluctuations in the year 1923, taken by the Allocation Committee as the basis of their work, so that the conversion of the national currencies into dollars unavoidably entails the possibility of error.

The Allocation Committee endeavoured, therefore, to check the preliminary conclusions to which these budget figures seemed to point by certain other economic data—the production of cereals and minerals, international trade, etc. The economic data, however, no less than the financial, were found to be open to a number of objections, although no doubt of certain value as a corrective.

But I would remind the Assembly that the Allocation Committee, after so many years of active and patient study, in the possession now of so great and varied a mass of evidence, has acquired an experience and knowledge which enables it to sift its evidence with special skill and to speak with quite exceptional authority.

Some delegations have enquired whether it would not be desirable to publish the data on which the Allocation Committee's conclusions were based; but I think that the Assembly will agree with me, in view of what has just been said, that such a procedure would be more likely to lead to confusion than enlightenment. For it is impossible for the casual reader or even for the careful student of all this mass of data to know the particular weight which should be attached to this or that figure or to apprehend the considerations which induced the Committee, after so many laborious sessions devoted to this subject, to attach particular importance to this or less importance to that set of facts.

I would also remind the Assembly that the scale of allocation now before it is not a rectification of the old scale, but is based on quite distinct principles. The reduction which was made, therefore, in the allocation of certain States on account of the devastation which was suffered during the war, disappears. That reduction was made on the grounds that the former allocation was based on indices of pre-war wealth, which no longer applied to those countries which had materially suffered during the war. The present allocation, on the other hand, is based, as I have already indicated, on post-war data, which automatically reflect the losses which have been incurred.

The Delegations of Austria, Belgium, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, China, and Roumania were all heard by the Sub-Committee with reference to the proposed scale. But only the first five of these raised any objection to the contributions which the Allocation Committee had recommended should be demanded from them.

The Fourth Committee, however, despite its earnest desire to give satisfaction to all the States Members of the League, found that the effect of the proposed modifications was to upset the delicate balance of the scale and inevitably

entail further changes the fatal results of which it is easy to imagine. This very difficulty with which the Committee met is in its opinion the best proof of the nicety of the balance which the Allocation Committee has achieved. The Fourth Committee recommends, therefore, that the scale should be adopted without change, and I venture to appeal in its name to the delegations of all States to support that recommendation in the common interest of all the Members of the League.

There is one point in connection with certain of the observations made before the Sub-Committee which I think, however, demands a word of additional explanation. States very naturally tend to compare the contribution demanded from them with that demanded from their immediate neighbours with whose economic conditions they are familiar, and it may happen, as it no doubt does in the case of Lithuania, that the percentage difference between the units ascribed to each is not in proportion to the real difference in capacity to pay. The Fourth Committee is fully conscious of that fact; but unless fractions and minute fractions of units are to be demanded this discrepancy is unavoidable. Nobody claims that countries asked to pay two units are necessarily or presumably twice as rich as those asked to pay one.

A further question remains to be mentioned. The Allocation Committee in its report suggests that the Assembly should put this scale into force for the years 1926, 1927, and 1928. The Fourth Committee ventures to endorse this proposal and suggests that the Allocation Committee should continue to exercise its functions simply with a view to following the economic development, so that it may be in a position to present in 1928 the results of its researches on which a future scale of allocation may be based.

In view of the various considerations which have been set out above, the Fourth Committee ventures to submit the following Resolutions for adoption by the Assembly (see page 18 for text).

ANNEX XIV.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium.* (Rapporteur: *His Excellency M. Veverka, Czecho-Slovakia.*)

The seventh session of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs was held from 24th—31st August 1925. The report on the work of the Committee at this session (see document A. 28, 1925) submitted to the Council and approved by it at its meeting on 5th September (see document A. 45, 1925) was laid before the Fifth Committee of the Assembly on 22nd September.

During this session the Advisory Committee had, for the first time, the active assistance of a representative of Switzerland. The Government of Bolivia had also nominated a representative, but he was unfortunately prevented from attending the meeting by illness. The United States of America was represented by Mr. Pinkney Tuck, who attended the meeting in an unofficial capacity.

One of the most difficult subjects with which the Advisory Committee had to deal at this session was the prevalence of the illicit traffic in dangerous drugs. During the past year a large number of important seizures had been reported in all parts of the world which threw a great deal of light upon the methods by which this traffic is carried on. The Fifth Committee agreed to the resolution of the Advisory Committee (see Resolution I) recommending certain administrative measures which it thought advisable should be taken in order that this traffic should be prevented as far as possible.

The second resolution of the Advisory Committee deals with the illicit traffic which is being carried on from the Persian Gulf, and which, according to information in the hands of the Committee (see Annex 4 to the report) has become a great menace in the Far East. The Fifth Committee, realising that this question was entirely separate from the question of production in Persia, felt that the recommendation of the Advisory Committee was one which could be accepted by all Governments concerned and would advocate its adoption by the Assembly.

The Advisory Committee was again confronted with the difficulty caused by the absence of annual reports from some of the Members of the League and Parties to the Opium Convention. The consideration of these reports is one of the most important duties of the Committee and its work is seriously hampered when they are not forthcoming. Annex 1 to the report gives a list of those Governments which have and which have not forwarded reports to the Advisory Committee, and the Fifth Committee would recommend that the resolution of the Committee dealing with this matter (Resolution III) should be adopted by the Assembly and that the Council should be asked to urge upon all Governments the great importance of sending in their reports to the League at as early a date as possible.

The Fifth Committee also agreed with the Advisory Committee that, after studying a report on the subject by the Health Committee of the League, no general scheme of propaganda should be undertaken by the League (see Resolution IV).

The Third Assembly (1922) passed a resolution relating to the issue of licences for the import of drugs from any country which had not ratified the Hague Convention of 1912, and had not yet adopted the system of import and export control approved by the Second Assembly, and requested the Advisory Committee to discuss this matter and report to the Assembly as soon as possible. In view of the fact that this subject had been considered by the Second International Opium Conference of 1925, the Fifth Committee agreed with the Advisory Committee that it would not be desirable to reopen this question and that its further consideration should be postponed indefinitely.

Owing to the somewhat changed situation in connection with the work of the Advisory Committee, the Council, on reappointing the present assessors until the end of the year, requested the Committee to state what special qualifications would be required in the future for the appointment of any future assessors. The qualifications considered essential by the Committee are stated in the report, and the Council has, further, requested the Committee to submit a list of names of persons whom it considered suitable to the December meeting of the Council.

In connection with the constitution of the Committee, the Delegate for the Irish Free State put forward a suggestion that, owing to the changed situation referred to above, perhaps it would be desirable to consider the reconstitution of the Committee and to invite representatives of consuming countries to co-operate with the representatives of producing countries on the Committee. The Delegates of the Netherlands and France pointed out that the membership of the Advisory Committee had already been increased last year, and urged the inexpediency of making further alterations in the composition of the Committee at a time when the Permanent Central Board for which provision was made in the new Convention of 1925 was about to be set up. The Fifth Committee therefore decided, with the consent of the Delegate for the Irish Free State, that no resolution should be adopted, but that the suggestion should be recorded.

It will be noted that the Advisory Committee has decided, in view of the impossibility of receiving reports from the Far Eastern countries before the latter months of the year, to hold its annual sessions in January, starting from 1927, in order that the reports before it may be as recent as possible.

On a suggestion by the Portuguese Delegate, the Delegate for the British Empire put forward a resolution dealing with the ratification of and adherence to the Agreement, Protocol, and Final Act drawn up by the First Conference in 1925, and the Convention, Protocol, and Final Act concluded by the Second Conference of 1925, and this resolution was unanimously adopted by the Fifth Committee (see Resolution II below).

The Fifth Committee discussed a suggestion made by the Brazilian Delegation to the effect that the Council should be requested to ask the opinion of the Advisory Committee as to the expediency of recommending the Governments of those countries which do not produce, manufacture or distribute narcotics to take such steps as they may deem expedient and equitable to prohibit the re-export of the said drugs.

While it was in agreement with the principle of the Brazilian Delegation's proposal, the Venezuelan Delegation felt bound to make reservations as to its form, on the ground that the Fifth Committee ought not to give an impression of the existence of any inequality as between States, and that the duty of making certain discriminations should be left to the Advisory Committee, which was alone competent to bring concrete facts to the notice of the Council.

With the exception of the Delegates of Persia and Portugal, who abstained from voting, the report of the Advisory Committee was unanimously agreed to by the Fifth Committee, and the following Resolutions are recommended to the Assembly for adoption, (see page 19 for text).

ANNEX XV.—Report of the Fifth Committee regarding the proposed Commission of Enquiry in certain Opium-producing Countries. (Rapporteur: His Excellency M. Veverka, Czechoslovakia.)

Among the resolutions which figure in the Final Act of the Second International Opium

Conference of 1925 is one concerning the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to visit certain opium-producing countries should they so desire. This resolution reads as follows:—

The Conference asks the Council of the League of Nations to examine the suggestion which has been made in the course of its proceedings, in particular by the Persian Delegation, that a Commission should be appointed to visit certain opium-producing countries, should those countries so desire, for the purpose of making a careful study (in collaboration with the Governments of those countries) of the difficulties connected with the limitation of the production of opium in those countries and advising as to the measures which could be taken to make it possible to limit the production of opium in those countries to the quantities required for medical and scientific purposes.

This resolution was the outcome of the discussion which took place at the Conference on the proposal of the United States Delegation that the opium-producing countries should agree to limit their production of opium to the amounts required for the medical and scientific needs of the world. In the course of this discussion, attention was called by certain of the opium-producing countries to economic and other difficulties which would prevent them, under existing conditions, from carrying out such limitation. They were only prepared to accept the principle of the proposal of the United States Delegation on the condition that an investigation was first made into the conditions which existed in their countries and the possibility of the cultivation of other crops and the development of other industries being substituted for the opium industry. The United States proposal was dropped on the withdrawal of the United States Delegation, and the Conference accordingly took no definite decision on the suggestion that a Commission of Investigation should be sent to the opium-producing countries. It was felt, however, that the suggestion ought not to be abandoned entirely without further consideration, and the resolution quoted, asking the Council to examine the suggestion in the event of any of the opium-producing countries desiring an investigation, was accordingly agreed to.

The resolution was considered by the Council at its meeting on 2nd September, when the representative of Persia appeared before the Council and submitted a request on behalf of his Government that a Commission of Enquiry should be sent to Persia. No other opium-producing country has so far presented a similar request. The Council accordingly resolved to refer the matter to the Sixth Assembly with a request that it should place the subject on its agenda. The Agenda Committee of the Sixth Assembly, after due consideration, agreed that the matter should be discussed by the Assembly and requested the Fifth Committee to consider the question. The resolution was therefore laid before the Fifth Committee at its meeting on 23rd September.

The Persian Delegate stated that, while Persia was anxious to co-operate in every way possible in the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium, it was an impossible task to limit production in that country unless other crops were substituted

for opium crops, owing to the large number of the population who were engaged in this production. He pointed out that, without the aid of a Commission of Enquiry which would investigate the present conditions with regard to the cultivation of the poppy and consider what crops could best be substituted for that of opium, the Persian Government could not take any steps towards the suppression of production of opium.

Attention was drawn by the Delegate of the British Empire to the observations and recommendations in the report of the recent meeting of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium with regard to the illicit traffic in Persian opium which is carried on from the Persian Gulf, and he asked whether, if the Assembly consented to send the Commission of Enquiry desired by the Persian Government, the Persian Government could see its way to come into line with other countries and take steps at once to prevent the export of its opium for the illicit traffic. He pointed out that this would in no way interfere with the legitimate trade in Persian opium, which is of great value for medicinal purposes.

The Persian Delegate stated that he could give no undertaking that his Government would be prepared to institute the suggested control, but he agreed to recommend strongly that course to his Government.

The Fifth Committee was of opinion that an enquiry into the present situation in Persia as regards the production and distribution of opium and as to the means which might be adopted to replace that cultivation by the cultivation of other crops would be of considerable value to the League in carrying out the task entrusted to it by the Covenant of supervising the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, and would at the same time facilitate a reduction in the present excess of opium production over the amounts required for the world's medical and scientific needs.

The Fifth Committee decided to recommend that a Commission of Enquiry should be sent to Persia to carry out an investigation on the lines indicated above, and in the resolution which it has adopted it has made suggestions as to the composition of the Commission. The Persian Delegate requested that a representative of Persia might be invited to take part in the discussions of the Council when this question was laid before it.

As financial considerations were involved, the Fifth Committee referred the matter to the Fourth Committee for consideration. The Fourth Committee decided to recommend that the sum of 150,000* francs (gold) should be granted for the work of the Commission.

ANNEX XVI.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.* (Rapporteur: M. Sugimura, Japan.)

The Fifth Committee has carefully studied the report submitted to it on the work of the fourth session of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

* Reduced by the Assembly to 100,000 gold francs (see page 17).

The Fifth Committee expressed its great appreciation of the excellent results obtained in the campaign against the traffic in women and children; it proceeded to a detailed study of the resolutions adopted by the Advisory Commission and, taking note of the proceedings of the 34th Session of the Council of the League of Nations, it observed with satisfaction that the resolutions adopted by the Advisory Commission have been approved by the Council.

The Fifth Committee, while appreciating the consideration given to the questions concerning the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People placed on the agenda of the next session of the Advisory Commission, has expressed the wish that this work should be undertaken progressively, and that the Advisory Commission should concentrate its efforts on investigations on the lines laid down by para. 3 of the resolution of the Fifth Assembly regarding the Protection of Children.

The Fifth Committee reiterates the hope that, as regard child welfare, the Advisory Commission will work in complete harmony with the Health Organisation of the League of Nations and with the International Labour Office, in order to achieve the humanitarian purpose they are pursuing in the endeavour to improve the situation of children in misery and distress and to provide for the adequate physical and moral education of the generation which to-morrow will be called upon to rule the world.

The Fifth Committee approved the grant of a credit of 50,000 gold francs required for the accomplishment of the new task, which the Advisory Commission has undertaken with regard to the protection of children.

Accordingly, it unanimously submits to the Assembly the following Resolution:—

The Assembly expresses its approval of the work accomplished by the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People. It desires, at the same time, to emphasise the view expressed in the resolution of the Fifth Assembly in regard to child welfare, that "the League can most usefully concern itself with the study of those problems on which the comparison of the methods and experience of different countries, consultation and interchange of views between the officials and experts of different countries and international co-operation may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with such problems." The Assembly therefore hopes that the Commission will not lose sight of the limits of its competence as thus defined.

The Assembly is also of the opinion that it is desirable that, when collaborating with other organisations of the League of Nations, the Advisory Commission should conform to Resolution 4 of the Fifth Assembly on the subject of duplication of work.

The Assembly recommends that 50,000 gold francs, as already proposed in the budget, be allocated to the new work connected with child welfare.

The Netherlands Delegation had submitted to the Fifth Committee a draft Resolution worded as follows:—

The Assembly,

Considering that the Council, in accordance with a resolution of the Fifth Assembly, invited the Health Organisation of the League to consider any measures within its competence which it would be desirable and practicable to undertake for the protection of children from the hygienic point of view; and

Convinced of the importance of this form of child welfare work:

Requests the Council to consult with the Health Committee as to the advisability of securing for the latter, in questions concerning child hygiene, a larger measure of co-operation on the part of specialists.

The Committee has carefully studied this draft resolution; a draft amendment was submitted to it by the Belgian Delegate and was also discussed at great length. Finally, the draft submitted by the Netherlands Delegation, embodying the amendments proposed by the Belgian Delegation, was accepted by the Committee.

The Fifth Committee has therefore the honour to submit the following Resolution to the Sixth Assembly (see page 20 for text).

The Fifth Committee has been called upon to consider the draft resolution submitted by the Swiss Delegation.

After examining the question, the Fifth Committee has decided to request its Secretary to forward the resolutions of the First General Congress on Child Welfare unofficially to the members of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People for their information, together with the minutes of the meeting at which the draft resolution was discussed.

ANNEX XVII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the question of measures to help Refugees.* (Rapporteur; M. *Bandeira de Mello*, Brazil.)

The Fifth Committee recalled the fact that the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations had recommended that the International Labour Office should continue the work of the High Commissioner for the Protection and Assistance of Russian and Armenian Refugees, and had voted a credit of 203,000 francs for administrative expenses in connection with the employment, emigration, and settlement of the refugees, it being understood that the International Labour Office would have recourse to the co-operation and intervention of the High Commissioner in order to settle any political and legal difficulties which might arise.

The International Labour Office, in conformity with the resolution approved by the Governing Body at its meeting on 10th October 1924, undertook a thorough and detailed examination of the exact position of these refugees and the possibilities of employment in immigration countries, and established Advisory Committees in various countries for the purpose of

effecting a careful selection of the refugees for whom offers of employment were obtained.

A census of refugees was then taken according to their special qualifications and their occupations, in order to enable the Refugee Service to transmit to them regular offers of employment. According to the statement prepared by the Office, the number of Russian refugees at present amounts to more than 1,000,000, of whom about 200,000 are unemployed or in casual employment. There are, in addition, some thousands of unemployed Armenian refugees, including approximately 23,000 in Greece, in a precarious situation, who, according to the statement of the Greek Delegation, cannot be absorbed into the economic life of the country.

The refugee questions, which were already difficult because of all the extremely complex problems to which they give rise, have been greatly aggravated by the critical state of unemployment existing for some years past in certain European countries.

The emigration of these refugees to new countries overseas has been considered as a solution of the problem, and a mission consisting of recognised technical experts was therefore sent to South America to examine the possibilities of settling refugees in the Latin States.

This mission got into touch with the Governments of some of those countries which were, in principle, disposed to receive specified groups of refugees, subject to certain important conditions, particularly as regards moral character and the vocational capacity of the immigrants, and subject to careful selection by technical experts especially appointed for this purpose.

The Governments of some South American States expressed the desire to have elements of other European nationalities introduced into their territories at the same time as the Russian and Armenian refugees, but the Committee expressed the opinion that the employment of persons other than refugees and their settlement in other countries was solely the concern of individual Governments themselves. The Austrian Delegation made certain reservations in this connection.

The International Labour Office, after overcoming difficulties of all kinds, had succeeded in the short space of seven months in facilitating employment in some 30 different countries of 18,000 refugees, who had thus been definitely settled under normal conditions.

The restrictive operation of the identity certificate systems placed many difficulties in the way of finding employment for the refugees.

After lengthy negotiations, the Refugee Service has secured recognition for the Nansen Passports from 40 Governments in the case of Russians and from 28 in the case of Armenians.

Some South American Governments, however, still required these certificates to be accompanied by a recommendation from the International Labour Office. Other South American countries have not yet recognised the Nansen Passport.

The present systems exclude the return of refugees to the country issuing the certificates, and thus run counter to the immigration laws of certain countries. Germany and Greece, however, displaying the most liberal spirit, have agreed to allow the return of refugees who are unable to

fulfil the conditions required by the countries of immigration.

The Committee hoped that this example would be followed by other interested countries, who would thus enable the refugees in their territories to proceed to immigration countries which would otherwise be closed to them.

A large number of refugees had been sent to France, where they met with a most favourable reception, and latterly offers of employment had been received from Belgium and Luxemburg. Canada had admitted 10,000 refugees under very favourable conditions, and others had been sent to Brazil and Paraguay.

Owing to the outlets offered by these countries, the Refugee Service had been able to find employment regularly for about 2,000 refugees per month.

It is most gratifying to record the admirable work accomplished by the Refugee Service, which had been able in this way to save thousands of human beings from destitution.

Nevertheless, the work is by no means terminated, as thousands of other unfortunate persons are still awaiting the moral support and material assistance of the League of Nations.

If the work of finding employment is to continue methodically, this Service, in order to bring its task to a proper conclusion, must continue its activities for some time to come. In this way, the anxious problem, which has for many years past engaged the sympathetic attention of the civilised world, may be solved in a satisfactory manner in conformity with the recommendations adopted by the Fifth Assembly on the proposal of its Fourth and Fifth Committees.

The Committee considered that the continuation of the work of protecting refugees by *assistance in the form of employment*, like that devised and put into effect by the Refugee Service, would require the granting of a credit of 303,000 francs and the creation of a revolving fund of £100,000 to provide for the advance of transport expenses to the refugees in the light of the experience gained by the operation of the small revolving fund in the hands of Dr. Nansen.

The Committee had under consideration the following three methods for obtaining that fund:—

1. The Assembly could make the necessary advance for a stipulated term.
2. The interested Governments on which the refugees are directly or indirectly a charge could make loans in proportion to the number of refugees in their territories.
3. The present charges made by certain Governments to self-supporting refugees for the issue and renewal of identity certificates could be regularised and made uniform (e.g., at a sum of 10 Swiss francs) and one-half of such charges be paid to a working capital fund for the refugees.

The fund formed by the payment of half the taxes collected on refugees' passports, according to the suggestion made in para. 3, could in the first place be devoted to repaying the sum advanced by the Assembly.

This solution would help to relieve the different Governments which are still charged with the maintenance and assistance of Russian and Armenian refugees.

The Committee was called upon to consider whether the work of protecting and assisting Russian and Armenian refugees, which had hitherto been undertaken in the face of innumerable difficulties, was to be continued, or whether those generous efforts should come to a sudden end and the refugees be left to their own resources.

Dr. Nansen, who for years has been tireless in his efforts on behalf of refugees, expressed the warm thanks of the Fifth Committee to Colonel James Proctor for the valuable help which he had rendered to the Refugee Service, to which he had devoted himself with admirable disinterestedness.

After a detailed examination of representatives of the International Labour Office concerning the work accomplished this year and the programme for the future, the Committee adopted the following Resolutions:—

The Committee,

1. Having read with great interest the report of the Refugee Service of the International Labour Office on the work accomplished for the refugees during the first seven months of 1925, indicating the possibility of developing on an extensive scale the placing of refugee workers in employment in various parts of the world:

Wishes to record its deep gratitude to the Governments which have afforded their valuable co-operation in this connection by means of financial contributions, the collaboration of their technical services or by visa and transport facilities;

Expresses its great appreciation of the work accomplished by the Refugee Service of the International Labour Office in co-operation with Dr. Nansen, and notes the urgent necessity of finding employment for Armenian refugees living in Greece.

2. Taking note of the proposals in the report for the continuation and extension of the Refugee Service and, in particular, of the statement that an additional sum of 100,000 Swiss francs is required for the establishment of two additional agencies of that Service in South America, while recognising that it is an entirely temporary service, recommends the Assembly to include in the budget of the International Labour Office for 1926 the sum of 303,000 Swiss francs for the Refugee Service.

3. In view of the fact that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has not yet had an opportunity of examining these proposals, recommends that the report should be submitted as soon as possible to the Governing Body for its consideration, and authorises the Council to enter into negotiations with the Governing Body, if necessary, for determining the measures by which effect can best be given to the report.

4. Suggests that the simplest solution would be to supplement the existing methods of financing the schemes of transport by obtaining from the Assembly an immediate temporary advance on account of a working capital fund which should eventually stand at £100,000 sterling; any sum so advanced should be reimbursed at the earliest possible moment from sources Nos. 2 and 3 mentioned in this report.
5. Recommends the Assembly to invite the Council to consider the advisability of convening an Inter-Governmental Conference for the purpose of examining the suggestions put forward in the report for the creation and administration of a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 sterling to assist the migration of Russian and Armenian refugees, and of effecting an improvement in the present systems of refugee identity certificates.

In the course of the discussion, the Italian Delegation, while appreciating the work in favour of the refugees, made reservations with regard to resolution No. 4 and declared that it would only vote for the credit of 203,000 Swiss francs.

The Fourth Committee adopted resolution No. 2, which provides for the increase of the credit by 100,000 francs over and above the 203,000 francs granted last year. It, however, rejected the temporary advance of £100,000 mentioned in resolution No. 4.

The Committee learned with regret that the Fourth Committee was unable to recommend the immediate temporary advance suggested in resolution No. 4 for the creation of a revolving fund of £100,000 for the advance of transport expenses to the refugees. The Committee realised that, unless such a fund were made available, the efforts to expedite a solution of the refugee problem would be seriously jeopardised and that an immediate possibility of placing 3,000 refugees in South America might even be lost.

The Committee therefore suggests that, in view of the urgency of the matter, resolution No. 5 above should be modified as follows:—

The Assembly urges the Council to arrange for the convocation of an Inter-Governmental Conference as soon as possible for the purpose of examining the suggestions put forward in the report of the International Labour Office for the creation and administration of a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 sterling to assist the migration of Russian and Armenian refugees, and of effecting an improvement in the present systems of refugee identity certificates.

In these circumstances, the Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of the following Resolutions by the Assembly (see page 21 for text).

ANNEX XVIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee on the proposed Armenian Loan.* (Rapporteur: M. de Brouckère, Belgian Delegate.)

The Fifth Committee has given the most careful consideration to the problem of the settlement of Armenian refugees during several of its

plenary meetings. It has instructed a Sub-Committee to collect all information likely to be of assistance in forming a definite opinion on the matter. Technical and financial experts have been good enough to co-operate in this investigation. At the conclusion of its discussions the Fifth Committee decided to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following Resolution (see page 22 for text).

ANNEX XIX.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the question of Slavery.*
(Rapporteur: Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Delegate of the British Empire.)

The Sixth Committee, with the help of a Sub-Committee and a small Drafting Committee, has considered the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission, which was adopted in the course of its session in July this year, as well as other documents concerning its work, and the draft Convention with regard to Slavery which, on behalf of my Government, I had the honour to submit for examination at the first meeting of the Committee.

In the first place, the Committee desires to record its appreciation of the valuable report of the Temporary Slavery Commission and to thank that body for the work which it has done and for the useful suggestions which it has made. This has greatly facilitated the work of the Sixth Committee on this problem.

The Sixth Committee, in dealing with the question, has adopted the same general point of view as the Temporary Slavery Commission, in that it has not attempted to investigate the particular situation in different territories in Africa or elsewhere, but has confined itself to an examination of the general problems. The Committee is of the opinion that it can best serve the efforts of the civilised world to do away with the evils of slavery and all conditions analogous thereto by suggesting that the Assembly should adopt a formal document setting forth the minimum standard which it is hoped that all Governments will be ready to accept and apply. It was this constructive point of view which led the British Government to submit a draft Convention in the early days of the Assembly. The suggestion for action of this sort met with the support of the Committee, and it is now possible for me to lay the Draft Convention before the Assembly after a thorough revision by the Drafting Committee, which was ably assisted by Mr. Gohr, Chairman of the Temporary Slavery Commission.

The Draft Convention is brief, and I should like to read it now, article by article, as there are certain points which may require some explanation.

PREAMBLE.

The preamble refers to the previous action taken in international conventions to put down the slave trade. I think it requires no comment here.

Article 1.—*Definitions.*

For the purposes of the present Convention, the following definitions are agreed upon:—

1. Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.
2. The slave trade includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.

Some members of the Committee thought, at the beginning of our discussion, that a definition of slavery and the slave trade was unnecessary as the terms were in themselves clear, but, as they have not always the same meaning in all legislations, it was decided that a definition was required. The text now submitted is primarily the result of the work of our legal experts and is based on the minimum provisions of existing colonial legislation and on the previous international conventions on this subject.

Article 2.—*Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade.*

The High Contracting Parties undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection or tutelage, so far as they have not already taken the necessary steps:—

- (a) To prevent and suppress the slave trade;
- (b) To bring about progressively and as soon as possible the disappearance of slavery in every form, notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions.

It will be noticed that the word "progressively" is employed in para. (b). I believe that, in common with the Temporary Slave Commission, we shall all recognise that in certain cases in the past the attempt to do away with slavery and other similar conditions in an abrupt manner, although noble in its inspiration, has resulted in unforeseen and regrettable hardships for the individuals whose condition it was sought to alleviate, and even in grave social upheavals. In these circumstances the Sixth Committee felt that the abolition of slavery, however desirable, could only be successfully brought about with due regard to the maintenance of order and the well-being of the peoples concerned. At the same time, the Committee was confident that each Government concerned would do its utmost to bring about the total disappearance of slavery at the very earliest moment. I should perhaps add that the term "similar conditions" at the end of sub-para. (b) is intended to include all forms of "debt slavery," the enslaving of persons disguised as the adoption of children, and the acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry, etc., as mentioned in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission.

Article 3.—*The Trade at Sea.*

The High Contracting Parties undertake to adopt all appropriate measures with a view

to preventing and suppressing the embarkation, disembarkation and transport of slaves in their territorial waters and upon all vessels flying their respective flags.

The High Contracting Parties further recognise the value of separate agreements between the Powers concerned conferring on their warships, in certain zones in which they may consider the existence of traffic in slaves to be a possibility, special rights enabling them to prevent and suppress the said traffic on vessels flying the flag of any of the Powers which are parties to such agreements. The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to each other agreements which may be concluded for this purpose.

The suggestion contained in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission that the transport of slaves by sea be considered as an act of piracy was incorporated in the original text of the draft Convention proposed by my Government. It was found, however, that this raised serious difficulties, and, whilst article 3 now reads somewhat differently, it definitely foresees the conclusion of separate agreements between the Powers most directly concerned in order to bring about the most effective co-operation on the seas, notably as regards measures to be taken in the case of ships of relatively small tonnage which are usually employed in this trade.

I trust that technical or legal difficulties will not be permitted to prevent practical agreements of the nature contemplated by the Committee and, even if the Convention is not immediately brought into force, I trust that some such agreements may be concluded forthwith.

Article 4.—Mutual Assistance.

The High Contracting Parties shall give to one another every assistance with the object of securing the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

Various suggestions as to how the provisions of this article may be applied, in particular by arrangements for the right of pursuit across inland frontiers, will be found in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission. I sincerely trust that such arrangements for the right of pursuit across inland frontiers will be concluded by the States concerned, particularly those situated in Africa, Arabia, or Asia, or those having possessions in these parts of the world.

Another manner in which I suggest States might assist one another to secure the abolition of slavery is by instructing their respective consular officers in places, where manumission or similar methods of freeing slaves exist, to collaborate closely with a view to liberating and repatriating slaves when and wherever possible.

All States might apply the provisions of this article in regard to such matters as extradition which do not concern colonial areas alone.

Article 5.—Penalties.

Those of the High Contracting Parties, whose laws do not at present make adequate provision for the punishment of infractions of laws and regulations enacted with a view to giving effect to the purposes of the present Convention, undertake to

adopt or to propose for adoption by their respective legislatures the necessary measures in order that severe penalties may be imposed in respect of such infractions.

The desirability of attaching severe penalties to the legislation against the slave trade is too evident to need comment.

Article 6.—Forced or Compulsory Labour.

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent conditions analogous to those of slavery from resulting from compulsory or forced labour.

It is agreed that:

- (1) In principle, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes:
- (2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour, shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.
- (3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the central authorities of the territories concerned.

In drafting this article, the Committee confronted perhaps the most difficult of the problems before it. It is recognised that its provisions do not go so far as those contained in the B and C Mandates; but the Committee felt that it was wiser to set up a minimum standard which was clearly understood and accepted than to adopt principles which could not perhaps in all cases be literally complied with. The above drafting was therefore finally agreed upon. It represents a definite attempt to deal with the question of forced labour in a general international agreement. This alone marks progress of considerable importance.

The first consideration of the Commission was to make certain that forced labour under no circumstances would be allowed to degenerate into a condition analogous to slavery. As regards forced labour for public purposes, it seemed preferable not to use the terms of the Mandates, "essential public works and services," as there has been some hesitation in certain quarters in interpreting the word "services" so as to include the payment of a tax. It was therefore thought preferable to use the words "public purposes." The expression may also include services required of inhabitants of villages, services which in accordance with ancient customs and institutions still existing in different territories are sometimes rendered to the village chiefs, but exclusively in their capacity as such.

In principle, the Committee was most decidedly opposed to the use of forced labour

for other than public purposes, but at the same time it recognised that, owing to special conditions in certain colonies, it might be necessary to call upon the population for this kind of labour in exceptional cases. The draft Convention, however, subordinates such recourse to certain conditions that are considered essential in order to guard against the abuses to which this form of labour may give rise. In the first place, it can only be authorised in exceptional cases when there is imperious necessity: secondly, it shall always be adequately remunerated; finally, in no case must it involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence. If these conditions are strictly observed, the evils of forced labour for private enterprises will be enormously diminished. Some doubts were felt lest private firms and persons, on seeing this very exceptional sanction, should press the authorities for forced labour when circumstances did not justify any such application. The Committee, however, felt confident that these applications would be firmly resisted by the authorities concerned.

In territories where the use of forced labour for other than public purposes is allowed, the Governments of these territories should endeavour progressively to bring such labour to an end as soon as possible.

Forced or compulsory labour for public or any other purposes can never be employed except under the complete responsibility of the central government of the territory.

Article 7.—Exchange of Laws and Regulations, and Article 8.—Abrogation of Previous Conventions do not require any particular comment.

Article 9.—Partial Accessions of the Convention.

Any of the High Contracting Parties may declare that its signature, ratification or adhesion shall not be binding as regards the enforcement of the provisions of certain of the articles of this Convention either upon the whole or upon any of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, or protection.

Any High Contracting Party which has made such a declaration may subsequently and, in conformity with the provisions of Article 10, adhere unreservedly to the present Convention in respect of any of the excluded territories; it shall endeavour to ensure such adhesion with the least possible delay in respect of all the excluded territories.

This article has been inserted primarily for formal reasons in most of the recent international conventions. The Committee was of the opinion that there would probably be little occasion for the interested States to use it in the case of the present Convention. On the other hand, to avoid possible difficulties, it was considered advisable to follow the practice which has now become usual. It was, of course, understood that neither this article nor any other could in any way affect the provisions of the Mandates.

Article 10.—Accessions, and Article 11.—Ratification and coming into force do not appear to call for any remarks.

Two other articles concerning—

- (1) the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice or of some other tribunal in case of disputes, concerning the interpretation and application of the Convention,* and
- (2) reports to be made annually to the League concerning the execution of the Convention†

were proposed by the representative of Norway. These two proposals were considered by the Committee and the record of its deliberations appears in the minutes. No solution was reached with regard to those points mainly owing to the late period of the sittings of the Committee at which their consideration was begun. It was, however, agreed that reference to them should be inserted in this report and that they should be considered again at the next Assembly, and that the Governments of the Members of the League should thus, in the meantime, be given an opportunity to express their views on them.

A draft resolution calling the attention of the International Labour Organisation to the necessity for the study of the conditions of native labour with a view to international action‡ was also proposed by the representative of Norway. It was similarly agreed that a reference should also be made in the report to this proposal in order that the attention of the Governments of the Members of the League should be called to it.

After this brief comment on the various articles of the draft Convention, I would like to

**Draft article proposed by the Representative of Norway:—*

The High Contracting Parties agree that disputes arising between them relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention shall, if they cannot be settled by direct negotiation, be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In case either or both of the States to such a dispute should not be parties to the Protocol of 16th December 1920, relating to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute shall be referred, at the choice of the Parties and in accordance with the constitutional procedure of each State, either to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to a court of arbitration constituted in accordance with the Hague Convention of 18th October 1907, or to some other court of arbitration.

†Draft article proposed by the Representative of Norway:—

The signatory States undertake to communicate annually to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a report on the working of the measures which they have taken to carry out the purposes of the Protocol.

The Secretary-General shall present to the annual Assembly of the League of Nations a summary of the reports so communicated.

‡Draft resolution proposed by the Representative of Norway:—

The Assembly,

Having examined the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission which has been communicated to the Members of the League of Nations, and

Having noted the references therein to the grave consequences which may arise where the conditions of native labour are not such as are consonant with the principles inscribed in article 23 of the Covenant;

Being of opinion that this question is one of the most urgent character:

Calls the attention of the International Labour Organisation to the necessity for its study with a view to international action.

emphasise the fact that the Committee does not hold up this document as the ultimate aim to be achieved in the international effort to do away with such abuses as the slave trade, slavery and conditions analogous thereto. It represents merely what the Committee considers to be the highest minimum standard which can be set forth in formal international arrangements at the present time. It is recognised that the standard already existing in certain colonial areas is considerably higher, and it is hoped that no States will be satisfied with compliance with the minimum standard which is now proposed.

Before the Assembly began the British Government thought that it might be possible and desirable to conclude a convention during the present session and to open it immediately for signature. The other Members of the League of Nations, however, have not had an opportunity of considering the text of the proposed Convention before their delegates arrived in Geneva, and there would seem to be some doubt as to how many of them would be prepared to sign such a paper with the prospect of securing ratification within a brief period. It is therefore the opinion of the Committee that the Convention should only be circulated to the Members of the League and to certain other States for their observations, with the hope that, at the time of the next Assembly, it will be possible to draw up this Agreement in final form and to open it for signature. I therefore beg to propose the following Resolution:—

The Assembly, considering that the Members of the League of Nations have undertaken, in virtue of article 23 (b) of the Covenant, to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

Having examined the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission which has been communicated to all the Members of the League of Nations; and

Being of opinion that a Convention is the best way of giving effect to the suggestions made in this report and of accomplishing the work undertaken by the League of Nations for the suppression of slavery:

Decides to recommend for approval the annexed draft Convention;

And requests the Council to communicate this draft to all States Members of the League and to such other States as the Council may specify, with a view to the conclusion of a Convention which will be as far as possible in conformity with this draft, and to invite the above-mentioned States—

(a) To forward to the Secretary-General not later than 1st June 1926 any observations they may desire to make regarding the provisions of this draft;

(b) To appoint at a later date plenipotentiaries who will meet at the time of the opening of the Seventh Assembly to re-examine, if necessary, the articles of the draft Convention and to sign immediately the text of the Convention which has been agreed upon; and

(c) To make every effort to adopt at once all possible measures in conformity with the provisions of the draft Convention in question;

(d) To assist one another forthwith in the abolition of the slave trade, slavery, and conditions analogous thereto, by all practicable means, and in particular by the conclusion of special agreements and arrangements.

ANNEX XIX (A).—*Draft Resolution and Protocol with regard to Slavery, submitted by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood on behalf of the British Government.*

The Assembly, having considered the report of the Temporary Committee on Slavery;

Whereas the signatories of the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1889-90 declared that they were equally animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the traffic in African slaves; and

Whereas the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye of 1919 to revise the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels of 1890 affirmed their intention of securing the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea;

Desiring to complete and extend the work accomplished under the Brussels Act and to find a means of giving practical effect throughout the world to such intentions as were expressed in regard to the slave trade and slavery by the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye; and

Being further of opinion that it is desirable to regulate the employment of forced labour so as to prevent conditions analogous to those of slavery arising therefrom;

Decides to open the attached Protocol immediately for signature by all States, and expresses the desire that the greatest possible number of States may adhere thereto as soon as possible.

The Assembly further invites the Council to consider whether any additional measures may be practicable for carrying out the purposes of the annexed Protocol and to furnish the Seventh Assembly with a report. A record of the signatures to and ratifications of the annexed Protocol will also be placed on the agenda of that Assembly.

PROTOCOL.

Article 1.

For the purpose of the present Protocol, the slave trade and slavery are defined as follows:—

The *slave trade* consists in the capture or purchase of persons with the object of selling or bartering them as slaves; the sale of persons acquired for this purpose by capture, purchase or barter, together with the transport operations involved by this traffic.

Slavery is a status in which one person exercises a right of property over another.

Article 2.

The signatory States shall:

- (a) Suppress all forms of the slave trade;
- (b) Provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves in their respective territories, and also for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow.

Article 3.

The signatory States, recognising the grave evils that may result from the employment of forced labour, except for essential public services, engage that, where it is necessary for special reasons to admit the employment of forced labour, they will take all necessary precautions, particularly where the labourers belong to the less advanced races, to prevent conditions analogous to those of slavery from resulting from such employment.

Article 4.

The signatory States undertake to enact legislation, if not already existing, whereby persons subject to their jurisdiction who reduce any person to a state of slavery or engage in the slave trade shall be liable to substantial penalties.

Article 5.

The act of conveying slaves on the high seas shall be deemed to be an act of piracy, and the public ships of the signatory States shall have the same rights in relation to vessels and persons engaged in such act as over vessels and persons engaged in piracy.

Vessels and slaves captured in accordance with this article shall be brought before the courts of the country whose ship effected the capture and dealt with in accordance with its laws. Persons on board such vessels who are engaged in the act of conveying slaves on the high seas shall be handed over to the authorities of their own country to be brought before its courts. The slaves shall in all cases be set at liberty.

Article 6.

The signatory States engage to use their best endeavours to induce all other States to conform to and adopt the principles of this Protocol.

Article 7.

Any State signing or acceding to the present Protocol may declare, at the moment either of its signature, ratification or accession, that its acceptance of articles 2 and 3 of the present Protocol does not include any or all of its colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates, areas not under direct administration, or overseas territories under its sovereignty or authority or in respect of which it has accepted a mandate on behalf of the League of Nations, and may subsequently accede on behalf of any such colony, overseas possession, protectorate or territory excluded by such declaration.

Article 8.

The present Protocol, which shall remain open for signature by all States, shall be ratified. The

ratifications shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify such ratifications and such accessions as may be made under article 7 to the signatory States and to the Members of the League. It shall come into force for each State three months after the date on which its ratification is deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

ANNEX XIX (B).—*India Office Memorandum regarding Slavery in the Hukawng Valley in Upper Burma.*

In January 1925 the Governor of Burma visited the Hukawng Valley in the neighbourhood of the Burma Frontier, where slavery still exists in certain tracts not under the administration of the Government of India. As an alternative to taking the tracts under direct British administration with all the attendant expense and difficulty, the Governor discussed with the local Chiefs the question of emancipating the slaves by a system of redemption and was able to secure the Chiefs' consent to certain proposals, namely:—

1. A price to be fixed for each class of slave—man, woman or child. On payment of this, the slave to be at once made free, to be allowed to cultivate and to have the same position as other free men.
2. The price to be recovered from the slave by easy annual instalments.
3. Certain objectionable practices to cease at once, viz., the selling of slaves, the giving them away as part of a marriage dowry or in settlement of blood-feuds, etc., and the breaking up of families of slaves.

In order to give effect to the proposals, a British officer made a tour in the valley about two months later and reported that its population numbered some 10,000 souls, of whom, roughly, one-third were slaves. Generally speaking, he believed, after seeing 50 per cent. of these slaves, that they led a fairly happy life and that ill-treatment by masters was not usual, but the ignominy attached to being a slave was always present, and, having no rights, the slave was exposed to domestic and other injuries without any hope of redress. The proposal made by the officer, and since approved by Government, is that the slaves shall be ransomed by paying their masters on an average about Rs. 80 for each slave, according to age, and recovering the amount by easy instalments from half the total number of slaves, no recovery being made from the other half as an inducement to them to remain of their own free will in the valley. That they should so remain is desirable since, if they quitted it on a considerable scale, the inhabitants of the valley might be left without the necessaries of life and suffer dire distress.

A free gift of the ransom will also be made to all slaves who are poor by reason of physical or mental infirmity and to all single women and orphan children.

The cost of ransoming half the slaves and foregoing all repayment is estimated at about

Rs. 1,25,000, but this sum is not considered a heavy price to pay if it be regarded as a final settlement of the problem of emancipating these slaves without creating strong local resentment.

Both to those leaving the valley and those remaining in it advances will be made at nominal interest to enable them to work their land.

It was at first proposed that the redemption of the slaves should be completed by 1st January 1928, but it has now been decided by Government that every effort should be made to complete it by the end of April next.

An important proposal which has also been sanctioned is that a British officer shall visit the valley every year and pay special attention to the liberated slaves and see that they are not made to suffer any hardships.

ANNEX XX.—*Report of the Sixth Committee on the Chilean Delegation proposal for the Collaboration of the Press in the Organisation of Peace.*
(Rapporteur: M. Paul Hymans, Belgian Representative.)

The Sixth Committee has examined with sympathy the proposal submitted by the Chilean Delegation at the meeting of 16th September 1925. The purpose of this motion is to afford the Press the collaboration of the League of Nations in improving its technical facilities for assisting in the work of moral disarmament and the organisation of peace.

The reason for the sympathy with which the Committee viewed the proposal is to be found in the nature of the proposal itself. Several of the members of the Committee belong or have belonged to the Press; while at the same time, the delegates at the Assembly have been able to appreciate in the course of conversation the interest with which this motion is viewed by the distinguished journalists at present in Geneva—and particularly by the members of the Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations.

I need not emphasise here the part played by the Press in international life. The newspapers are fundamental to all the judgments which public opinion in each country passes on the other nations of the world. It is for this reason that the Press can exercise a considerable influence in favour of the establishment of better international relations and can contribute more effectively perhaps than any other institution to that

moral disarmament which is the concomitant condition of material disarmament.

The Chilean proposal is undoubtedly a bold one. The Press, like all great Powers, is rightly jealous of its independence. We must therefore approach the vast and delicate problem raised by this resolution with great circumspection. I wish to make it clear at the outset that the League of Nations does not wish to interfere in the affairs of the Press, and will only interest itself in them if the journalists themselves consider that its assistance would be valuable.

I would like to emphasise the fact that the resolution which we have the honour to submit to the Assembly was drafted with the greatest possible care.

It proposes that the Assembly should invite the Council to consider the desirability of convening a committee of experts representing the Press of the different continents. It will therefore be for the Council to decide at the start whether it is willing to deal with the question. If it does so, its task in the next few months, according to the procedure proposed, will merely be to prepare for a meeting of carefully selected experts. When these meet, they will be absolutely free to express their opinion on the advisability of giving further effect to your proposal and on the best method of doing so.

If during this preparatory period the Council discovers that steps are being taken in the same direction by private organisations, it will no doubt take the view that it should not substitute itself for these organisations but should rather encourage and co-ordinate their efforts.

In certain cases the League of Nations can undoubtedly do a great deal to assist co-operation between the Governments and the Press. Although an aggregate of private enterprises, the Press is frequently obliged to have recourse to various Government services. For example, it depends in a large measure on the Governments for the transmission of news by telegraph, telephone, cable and radio-telegraph; it also depends in every country on the national legislation in all questions connected with authors' rights, transport rates, etc. In directions like these, the friendly assistance of the League of Nations might often be of great value.

I have endeavoured, Gentlemen, to indicate merely the broad outlines of the task to be accomplished. It will be for the Council to consider, with the help of the distinguished representatives of the Press, whether the time has come to undertake it.

The following is the text of the Resolution which I ask you to adopt (see page 25 for text).

APPENDIX III.

ANNEX I.—*Report of Speech by His Excellency M. Paul Painlevé, Prime Minister of France and Acting President of the Council of the League, in the Assembly, on 7th September 1925.*

It is upon France that to-day the signal honour devolves of opening the great International Assembly which has, every year since 1920, discussed all the questions upon which the peace of the world and the future of humanity depend.

My first duty as Chairman—an office which, even though I hold it but for a day, I shall never forget—is to extend a most cordial welcome to all the distinguished representatives of the 54 nations assembled in this hall to collaborate wholeheartedly in the most noble enterprise ever undertaken by man.

May I also be allowed on this occasion to express my regret at not seeing amongst us the tall figure of that great servant of humanity, M. Branting, whom, alas! we shall never see again. You will also join with me in associating with this memory that of two other colleagues who are no more, M. Meierovics and M. Chagas. I would also like to present my respectful greeting to the lady who bears the great name of Woodrow Wilson, who is gracing this inaugural assembly with her presence.

There are certain persons who consider themselves superior to their fellows because, in their pessimism, they delight in disparaging and predicting the failure of any concerted efforts to combat the evils from which the peoples of the world are suffering and, particularly, the worst of all evils—war. They take what theologians call a morbid delight in doing so, as if blind mistrust were not even more dangerous than blind confidence, as if—to quote the words of M. Motta, when he opened the First Assembly—hatred itself were not a curse. They mistake for exceptional clearness of vision what is really shortsightedness, which magnifies the obstacles immediately before their eyes and blinds them to the full view of the road that was trodden yesterday and the road you will tread to-morrow.

Because you can only by degrees fulfil the high hopes which the world has placed in you, and which inspire and fortify you in your task; because you have not overcome at one blow the formidable destructive forces which are convulsing the Old World, they proclaim, with malignant joy, the death of the League of Nations. Ah! gentlemen, how often—this very week even—have I heard them doom you to an ignoble death! But can we not now reply to them—to quote a classic phrase—that “*les gens qu'ils tuent se portent assez bien*”? In proof of this, I point not merely to the number but to the character of your delegations. Both the strongest nations and those nations which are most threatened with the possibility of conflicts are represented by Cabinet Ministers, by

men who were Ministers yesterday or will be to-morrow.

It is no idle purpose that would call together an assembly such as this, and when the French Government decided that its head should, despite the many urgent calls upon his time, come and preside at your first meeting, it was not for the purpose of affording help to the French Delegation; it does not require help, as you already know, for you have seen it at work. No, to-day, when the duty of inaugurating your work falls upon France, the French Government has taken this step because it wishes solemnly to affirm before the whole world its respect for the League of Nations, its faith in the League's work, and in the beneficence of the League's acts.

In point of fact, if any impartial observer were asked to give his sincere and unbiassed opinion of the work you have done in five years, he would be struck, above all, by your steadily increasing authority.

When, at the close of the great struggle, the League of Nations was born, it was, as it were, a tiny flame of hope, flickering still, as if the least breath would extinguish it; but this flame has now been fed with the enthusiastic ardour of every nation.

The League has stood firm, it has become active, it has faced and overcome formidable difficulties. But its mission is not merely to arbitrate on disputes, or to draft conventions so logical and precise as to call forth the admiration of jurists; it must also create a new international soul, a new international morality. It has filled this two-fold mission courageously, knowing the exact measure of its strength, going to the extreme verge of the possible, but without making the fatal mistake of attempting the impossible. Day by day it has had to anticipate and lead public opinion, while at the same time it has had to avoid alarming this same opinion to such an extent as to alienate it. It had to oppose projects of violence, but, at the same time, it had to avoid coming into conflict with forces too great for its still undeveloped strength. This firmness, this moderation, this calm self-possession, have made of the weakling of 1920 the strong League of 1925. Emboldened by success, it has each time ventured a step further and has increased its prestige in the eyes of the world. One by one its discussions have helped to clear the atmosphere of international mistrust and have led the best elements and the youth of all nations along the path of the future. Enterprises which yesterday seemed fantastic have to-day become feasible, because you have greatly dared.

In particular, you can look back with pride to the work accomplished in the course of the past year—work which will mark an epoch in the history of the League. During this period, your activities have been so manifold and so varied that I cannot think of even enumerating, much less describing, them. In widely different fields—politics, economics, finance, health, and so on—the Council of the League, its Committees,

its Secretariat and the Permanent Court of International Justice have worked together ceaselessly to bring peace to the world. With this calmness of mind and impartiality of method you have solved the most complex and embittered controversies, problems which have aroused the angry passions of neighbouring peoples, and smaller problems too—smaller, but nevertheless vital for the prosperity and welfare of the weaker nations—problems connected with customs, trade, transit, unemployment, the abolition of slavery, the white-slave traffic, the protection of women and children, and many others. I can only refer briefly to the most important of all these activities.

In the first place, there are the detailed amendments to the Covenant, that firm and unshakable basis on which the League and, indeed, the peace of the world are founded. These minor amendments do not modify any of the obligations incumbent upon Members of the League, but they define the judicial regulations governing international disputes, while maintaining intact the penalties consequent upon any failure to observe the Covenant.

Again, the last Assembly, acting in the spirit of the Covenant, decided that the task of codifying public and private international law should be undertaken under the Presidency of M. Hammarskjöld and with the help of some of the most celebrated jurists in the world. A Committee has been formed and is to receive the able co-operation of the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law, which was founded through the generous initiative of the Italian Government.

One of the most effective methods of dispelling misunderstandings between peoples is to increase relations and intercourse in the worlds of art, literature, and science, and to promote education and the spread of scientific knowledge from country to country.

The International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, which has been founded at the instance and with the co-operation of the French Government, will pursue this noble aim in close co-operation with your Committee, the able Chairman of which is that great apostle of human thought, M. Bergson.

More difficult, and more tragic too, are the problems which the war has left us—economic problems and racial problems, all of which call for immediate settlement.

Then there are the Russian and Armenian refugees to be helped; this work has been taken in hand by Dr. Nansen and the International Labour Office, with a zeal which calls for the gratitude of the League. There are the Greek refugees, who have to be assisted by the Refugees Settlement Commission which your Council has established, and by means of a loan of £12,300,000, for which the League's Financial Committee is responsible. There is the question of the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, which you have placed in the hands of a Mixed Commission. There are the starving Albanians whom you have fed. As a result of disasters involving whole nations—an eventuality of which the world believed it had seen the last—Senator Circolo conceived a magnificent scheme, which to-day is well on the way towards

realisation, the International Federation for the Mutual Relief of Peoples Overtaken by Disaster.

It has been difficult, as you are aware, to establish the economic equilibrium of the new States, and some of them came to the very brink of disaster. Austria and Hungary appealed to the League for help. The efforts of both countries and the administration of the two Commissioners-General which the League placed at their head proved so satisfactory that the financial restoration of those countries was accomplished earlier than had been hoped. The question which faces Austria to-day is whether the supervision to which she is subject should not soon be discontinued. In view of these successes, Albania and Esthonia also appealed in different ways for the help of the League's financial organisation.

But it is the settlement of disputes arising between neighbouring States as a result of the war which has taxed the League's authority to the utmost. If proof positive of the extreme adaptability of the League's organisations were required, we need only instance the innumerable disputes between Poland and the Free City of Danzig and the happy settlement found for them, thanks to the able efforts of M. Quiñones de León. The representatives of Poland and Danzig have accepted the new procedure, and consider it so just that they have given an undertaking to the Council to refrain, in future, from direct action or even passive resistance of any kind.

The Council and the Committees of the League showed the same resourcefulness and the same complete impartiality in settling the still more difficult and dangerous disputes caused by the minorities question.

Whenever disputes liable to endanger peace have arisen in any part of the world, more particularly in the Balkans and the Near East, you have applied your impartial methods to them and have brought to bear upon them the knowledge and experience of your Technical Committees and the courage and untiring zeal of the missions you have sent, often far afield. Thus, for example, the League has found a peaceful settlement for the dispute caused by the expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarch from Constantinople.

Among all these thorny problems there is one on which the anxious eyes of the world were, and are still, fixed. I refer to the delimitation of the frontiers of Iraq and the Mosul question. The Council is at present discussing the conclusions of its special Commission of Enquiry, which carried out its task on the spot.

But all these questions, however grave, and whatever their effect upon the world at large, pale before the supreme problem of security.

That the Covenant on which the League of Nations is based was conceived, not in the midst of a period of peace but at a time when the clash of arms was still resounding and the earth was still warm with the blood that had been shed and with all the conflagrations that had been kindled—that, gentlemen, is a fact which is unexampled in history and which peremptorily calls upon us to do our duty.

The Covenant was not imposed by the wise and far-seeing few upon the multitude drunk with carnage. It is the embodiment in legal form of the heartfelt desires of the masses and, above all, of the combatants. It was because humanity had plumbed the depths of horror that all were alike desirous of avoiding a recurrence of such a catastrophe—and most of all those who had known its lowest depths. It was this longing for a peace founded on justice, for a world no longer ruled by violence, which inspired the Covenant of the League of Nations, and, in particular, the essential parts of it, Articles 14, 15, and 16. But in order to make it possible to apply these articles effectively in every possible contingency; in order to complete a text which necessarily could be little more than an outline; in order to define the details of the general provisions and give them full executive force, supplementary Conventions had to be drawn up; and ever since the foundation of the League the constant endeavour of its most distinguished members has been to conclude such Conventions—clear, binding and consonant with national sovereignty. In 1922 we have Resolution 14, jointly drawn up by Lord Robert Cecil and M. Henry de Jouvenel; in 1923 the Pact of Mutual Guarantee, the corollary of Resolution 14; finally, in October 1924, we have the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. Superficially minded people may compare this work to Penelope's weaving, but the comparison is false. These efforts have been cumulative, not mutually destructive; each marks a definitive step along a path strewn with obstacles which are formidable, it is true, but which will be overcome one by one.

None of you can have forgotten the stirring, impassioned, lofty discussions which took place last year; the magnificent speeches of the British and French Prime Ministers, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Edouard Herriot, setting forth the French and British points of view, which at first were in opposition and were finally combined in those three fundamental terms, which are severally as indispensable as is the sequence in which they come—arbitration, security, disarmament. None of you can have forgotten the careful preparation of the Protocol, in which your Legal and Disarmament Committees endeavoured to leave no loophole for violence; nor the legal definition of the aggressor, who was declared thereby to be the enemy of the human race; nor the detailed enumeration of the duties imposed on the Members of the League; nor the economic and military sanctions to be taken in the case of failure to carry out the terms of the Covenant.

In a final speech, in which the logic of his arguments was only equalled by the beauty of his style, and which was acclaimed by the whole Assembly, M. Paul-Boncour summed up the work which had been done by stating emphatically that the Protocol was not a modification but a development of the Covenant, a living commentary on it. "The Protocol," he said, "is to the Covenant what the rules of public administration are to the law."

The authors of the Protocol counted upon obtaining the immediate approval of their

Governments, but months have passed and their hopes have not been fulfilled. Unanimously adopted by the first delegates of the 54 nations represented, and then submitted to the various Governments for ratification, the Protocol failed to obtain the number of adhesions required to enable it to come into force.

This should neither surprise nor discourage us. A scheme so daring, so original, and so far-reaching as that laid before your Council and Assembly, a scheme destined completely to transform relations between the countries of the world, can only be carried into effect in the course of time and by patient and constant endeavour. In the history of such a scheme there are bound to be moments of enthusiasm—creative moments, without which there would be nought but stagnation and inertia—followed by less brilliant but equally useful periods of adaptation and adjustment.

Speeches and conventions may cast their glamour over a gathering of men, but, however persuasive or legally sound, they cannot immediately convince all the nations of the world and the Governments which rule those nations' destinies. The object of your discussions is not, by progressive attempts, simply to draw up the final and perfected text of a great international law; your discussions are also intended to bring into being that new international morality to which I referred at the beginning of my speech, and without which the most perfect law in the world must remain a dead letter. But, if we are to attain so noble an object, we shall need to do much more than appease hatreds, rancours, and long-standing rivalries. We shall have to create among the nations a state of mutual understanding. We must do more than conciliate conflicting interests and ambitions, we must eliminate the clash of different mental outlooks.

It is to these differences of mental outlook that the resistance to the Protocol is mainly due. The Protocol's universality, the severe and unbending logic of its obligations, were framed to please the Latin mentality, which delights in starting from abstract principles and passing from generalities to details. The Anglo-Saxon mentality, on the other hand, prefers to proceed from individual concrete cases to generalisations, and is averse, when it cannot discern the facts on which they are based, to principles which are too wide in scope. Yet the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races both ardently desire, as indeed you all do, to attain the same goal, namely, peace. They will therefore meet again if only they persevere after traversing different paths which a philosopher would term respectively the analytical and the synthetical. I am not indulging in mere ready-made optimism. If we dispassionately consider the facts we shall find that the state of affairs which the authors of the Protocol hoped to bring about this year, and the actual situation as it exists to-day, possess many essential points in common.

The grand scheme for the universal settlement of disputes has not up to the present received the force of law, and, consequently, the Council has had to adjourn the preparations for the Conference on Disarmament provided for by the Protocol. That much I admit, but at the same

time negotiations have been begun and are being continued between the Powers most directly concerned in the problem of security.

The object of these negotiations is to bring about agreements or arbitration treaties in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations and intended to ensure the maintenance of peace. We may say, I think, that these negotiations would never have been begun—or at any rate would not have been conducted in the present spirit—if the Assembly had not, last year, made an effort to arrive at some result.

The outcome of these negotiations, if they succeeded, would be to bind certain nations Members of the League by obligations similar to those provided for in the Protocol. They are inspired by the same spirit, and they only differ in being more restricted in character. These partial, regional agreements are of various kinds. Some are intended to ensure the maintenance of existing frontiers, and these only include States the interests of which are identical in this respect, and not those States with which disputes might possibly arise. Others, like the projected Rhine Pact, include States between which difficulties might arise. The Geneva Protocol, like the 1923 Scheme for Mutual Assistance before it, admits the existence of such partial agreements, viewed as a means of putting its provisions into force. Such agreements are not then in any way—and this point cannot be over-emphasised—at variance with the general rules laid down last year at Geneva. If the Protocol had come into force, they would merely have been corollaries thereto. In relation to the Protocol they will be in the same peculiar condition as children born before their father's civil status has been properly established. Nevertheless, it would be of very great benefit to define the relationship of these agreements to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

What we have just said on the subject of partial agreements also applies to arbitration conventions. Up to the present, many treaties of arbitration have been concluded, but some are, in reality, only treaties of conciliation, whereas others exclude from settlement by arbitration some of the most important disputes which might arise. The arbitration treaties provided for in the Pact, however, are *complete* treaties, which do not admit of any exceptions and the application of which is not solely dependent on the good faith and agreements of the signatories but on the guarantee afforded by the League.

The problem of security is therefore laid before you to-day in circumstances different from those which prevailed last year. Last year, after the rejection of the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the Assembly was confronted with a new and entirely distinct problem.

To-day, the question is not an entirely new one, its terms are neither so simple nor so general. You may hesitate as to the method to be followed, and on this you are free to take your own decision. To repeat an expression which I have already employed—you can adopt the synthetic method, which is the more attractive, the more logical, and the more direct; that is to say, you may re-examine the Protocol

and endeavour to amend it so as to meet the very insurmountable objections which it engendered. On the other hand, you may follow the analytical method, which is slower and less ambitious, but can be more readily adapted to the present situation; that is to say, you may only consider the application of the principles of the Protocol to partial agreements.

The objections to the Protocol and the misgivings which it engendered, would probably disappear if there were no longer any question of immediately binding all countries in the world, wherever situated, and whatever their characteristics, by the same universal formulas. The provisions and procedure which I have in mind would only apply to States desirous of finally settling the problem of security among themselves. As regards the general obligations of Members of the League, there would be no change; nothing would be added or removed.

You would remain free either to re-examine the universal Protocol, with certain necessary modifications, or to allow a universal agreement to come about through the natural and beneficent influence, and through the increase, of partial agreements.

The considerations to which we have referred in connection with the general problem of security naturally extend to the general problem of disarmament. Undoubtedly, the second problem cannot be dealt with in all its aspects so long as the first remains unsolved. Security, then disarmament—this sequence cannot be changed; to reverse them would be highly dangerous to peace. If there is one truth which the exhaustive discussions of last year brought out, it is that one.

As you are aware, however, there are a number of special questions connected with armaments, their manufacture and employment, and the trade in them, which were studied by your special Committees, particularly in May last, in pursuance of Article 8 of the Covenant. One convention, on the trade in arms, and another, on the prohibition of chemical warfare, in pursuance of the resolution of the Fifth Assembly, have already been signed by 29 High Contracting Parties, including Powers such as, in particular, the United States, which are not Members of the League. Finally, the control of the armaments of certain countries, as provided by the treaties, has been most carefully discussed. The work of your committees on partial problems of this kind is by no means completed.

At the same time, it would perhaps be useful if the Assembly renewed its resolution of last year and requested the Council to prepare invitations to a conference for the reduction of armaments, as soon as it considered that satisfactory conditions from the point of view of security were well established.

There is another aspect of the problem of security to which M. Jouhaux, Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour and representative of the working-classes at your gatherings, drew the attention of the Assembly last year with his usual energy and remarkable ability. It is a noble work to oppose the outbreak of war; it is also a noble work to remove the deep rooted causes of war, and it is the only work

which will make the prevention of warfare an enduring reality. If we permit economic forces to break loose in all their brutality, and do not check them by prudent measures based on the international spirit which prevails here, such violent upheavals may some day occur that all conventions will collapse and the spectre of war will suddenly appear. I referred just now to the economic and financial questions which you have made so magnificent an attempt to solve; it will be a fine and courageous effort on the part of your Technical Committees to begin without delay the arduous task of regulating international economic life in a manner satisfactory to all. Those who fear that you may have no work to do have entirely miscalculated the magnitude of the effort which has yet to be made.

The President of this Assembly, so long as he occupies this chair, should forget to what nationality he belongs. Permit me to say, however, as head of the French Government, that whatever method you think it advisable to adopt, you can count on the absolute and unreserved assistance of France. France co-operated with enthusiasm in drawing up the Geneva Protocol; she remains loyal and entirely faithful to its spirit; she does not in any way disown her obligations: she repudiates resort to violence as energetically as when she was its victim. It was in her name that M. Herriot, last September, solemnly accepted compulsory arbitration for all disputes without exception.

France is not attached to a formula; her desire is peace. She is prepared to study all methods and all conventions which can secure, for small nations as well as great, the right to live and work in peace and honour, which guarantee to nations long enthralled or dismembered the freedom they have regained at so great a cost. No project of co-operation for the maintenance of peace will be effective unless it has its root in the League of Nations.

The League must therefore be in a position freely to play its part as an organisation for the safeguarding of peace. At your first Assembly in 1920, M. Motta, the President of the Swiss Confederation, earnestly desired, as we all do, to see the day when all the nations will adhere to the League of Nations and its Covenant. At that time the Assembly consisted of representatives of 41 States: it now includes representatives of 54.

On 12th December 1924 Germany addressed a letter to the Council with regard to the conditions of her admission to the League. She expressed certain apprehensions based on Article 16 of the Covenant and the possible obligation of allowing the armies of other adhering States to cross her territory. On 14th March 1925 the Council, in its reply, unanimously reminded Germany of the formal conditions for the admission of a State into the League of Nations, as defined by Article 1 of the Covenant. After endeavouring to dispel the German Government's misgivings, the Council expressed to Germany "its sincere wish to see her associated with its labours, and thus play, in the organisation of peace, a part corresponding to her position in the world." The wish expressed by the Council will no doubt be unanimously shared by the Assembly.

On the other side of the Atlantic there is a great democracy which stood at the cradle of the

League, but has nevertheless not accepted any official connection with it. It desires to serve the cause of peace in its own way. But the ideal by which the fatherland of Washington and of Lincoln is actuated is so human and approaches so closely to your own that the League and America are impelled, by force of circumstances, to co-operate freely for the good of humanity.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, the principle of which has apparently been approved by President Coolidge, has, it is true, a separate existence; but the United States has been officially represented in all your humanitarian work, such as the protection of women and children, the Commission on the Traffic in Opium and the Conference on the Trade in Arms and Implements of War. Numerous Americans—indeed some of the most distinguished Americans—have given the League the benefit of their exceptional capacity in difficult missions. Such points of contact will increase in the future.

But the history of the United States has already afforded our pessimists in Europe a lesson on which they cannot meditate too often. If they had reached manhood some 60 years ago, what a gloomy and sanguinary future they would have predicted for America! The United States had been rent for four years by a terrible civil war; the ground was covered with ruins; the hearts of the people were filled with hatred which the presence of former negro slaves, liberated by force, appeared to render for ever ineradicable. Nevertheless, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, these States, with a heterogeneous population and with interests so diverse and often directly opposed, live peaceably side by side under the protection of a Supreme Court, whose moral authority is such that it has never had to resort to sanctions; and the war-songs, under which the armies of Grant and Lee met in furious combat, have now become national songs, sung with equal goodwill by all citizens of the United States. We must, of course, guard against too broad analogies, and no one will imagine that the history of a new continent can be repeated in our old continent of Europe, with its ancient traditions and nationalities.

But it is true that the possibilities of a lasting peace are no less to-day on our continent than they were in 1867 on the American continent. These possibilities can be transformed into facts by goodwill.

Goodwill on the part of individuals, nations, and leaders! The alternative is simple and tragic, for the present situation is an unstable one. Either the atmosphere of distrust in which we are plunged will vanish or this distrust will grow and inevitably cause a hideous war of self-defence which will really mean the end of our civilisation. Will the nations of Europe, the great nations to which it owes its civilisation, resemble the brothers, who fought in the legend, clasping each other at the edge of a precipice with such fierce hatred that they did not feel themselves slipping together into the abyss?

This cannot be. None of you are blind to the evil forces which threaten Europe. It was to avert this danger that the authors of the Covenant sought to bind the aggressor in so close a network of legal sanctions. It is to avert this danger that your Armaments Committee is so minutely examining precautions and guarantees

before advising the peaceful nations to lay down their arms. It is to avert this danger that M. Edouard Herriot, referring to a famous saying of Pascal, urged that "Justice should also be might."

The optimism of the League of Nations is not, as its opponents aver, a blind and unreasoning confidence; its eyes are wide open. We were never of the opinion that the end of the carnage would usher in an era of careless ease for all nations. The millions of young men who died in the great struggle have not, by their sacrifice, bequeathed to the new generations a ready-made peace, but the possibility of building up peace on the solid foundation of justice by a whole-hearted effort of courage and generosity.

We are resolved to accomplish that effort. Nothing will prevent us. Nothing will discourage us. A great captain once wrote on the page of history the following maxim, which is so striking that it has become commonplace. "It is not necessary," said William of Orange, "to hope in order to endeavour, nor to succeed in order to persevere." Are we less determined than this soldier—we who desire peace—who find in our hearts so many grounds for hope, and can credit the League of Nations with successes but for which the world might already have been plunged in disaster?

If I were not afraid that such a desire would exceed my short-lived powers, I might express a wish that the work of this Assembly should be guided and inspired by the unwritten epigraph: "Hope, venture, persevere."

I declare the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations open.

ANNEX II.—*Report of a Speech by the Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Great Britain, in the Assembly on 10th September 1925.*

Mr. President, I hope that I may be permitted to offer you the congratulations of the British Delegation on the high honour which this Assembly has done to you, and to you, ladies and gentlemen, may I express the thanks of the delegations of the whole British Empire for the honour which you have done to it in choosing one of our distinguished citizens to take the Chair at this Assembly.

I rejoice with other speakers who have preceded me to see, not merely the growth of interest in the proceedings of the League of Nations, but the growth of its authority and influence as its work proceeds. My own country has desired to mark its respect for your Council and for your Assembly by deputing me, since I have held my present office, to represent it at each session of the Council and to be a member of its delegation to this Assembly. A more practical and a more significant proof of our admiration for the Assembly, of our confidence in the Council and in its justice is our ready acceptance of the Council as arbitrator and judge in the unfortunate difference of opinion which has arisen between us and the Turkish Republic and which we have been unable to settle amicably without your help. No greater proof of the influence which the League has

gained, or of the confidence with which the Government of a great nation may justly submit its cause to the decision of the Council, can be offered than by the action which my Government has taken in connection with the difference concerning Mosul.

I have no intention of attempting to repeat the eloquent survey of the manifold activities of the League of Nations which was made by the Prime Minister of France from the Chair at our opening meeting. My theme is a more restricted one, but since it fell to me on behalf of my Government to make the first public declaration of the reasons for which it was unable to accept the Protocol, I would ask you to permit me to say a few words upon that subject to-day and to indicate to you briefly by what spirit we are inspired, what objects we are pursuing and, broadly, even the methods by which we think those objects can most readily be attained. I believe that if you will do me the honour to consider calmly what I say, you will find that though there have been, and though there yet may be, differences of opinion in this Assembly as to the best means of attaining the objects that we have in view, there is no difference of opinion here as to what those objects themselves should be.

I hope that I may assume that you are familiar with the statement that I made on behalf of my Government to the Council and which has been distributed to you. I do not propose to cover all the ground that was covered in that statement. I wish only to present to you two or three broad considerations.

I was struck by an observation made yesterday by the honourable Delegate of Denmark. Speaking of the aims of the League of Nations he said: "It is not our purpose to punish the aggressor; it is our object to prevent aggression." That seems to me to be a fundamental principle which we are always bound to keep before us. Punishment of international crime may be, and indeed is, necessary, just as punishment of individual crime is necessary. But the object which all legislators should have before them is not to punish the criminal, but to prevent the commission of the offence. Now it seemed to my Government that that distinction, that principle, had been somewhat lost to view in the framing of the Protocol of last year. We felt, if I may repeat the words which I used to the Council, that the additions which the Protocol made to the Covenant in some sort changed the spirit of the Covenant and obscured the original purpose which inspired the creation of the League itself.

These additions, I said, destroy the balance of the Covenant and alter its spirit. The fresh emphasis laid upon sanctions, the new occasions discovered for their employment, the elaboration of military procedure, insensibly suggest the idea that the vital business of the League is not so much to promote friendly co-operation and reasoned harmony in the management of international affairs as to preserve peace by organising war, and it may be war upon the largest scale.

Do not let us lose sight of the fact that if the only result of our efforts is to punish war and not to prevent it we have failed in the achievement of the very purpose which we were created to pursue, and that it is only in so far as we prevent war that we can justify the hopes which humanity sets upon this great international society.

Now may I make a further general observation? We represent here a multitude of nations scattered over the face of the whole world, belonging to every race and every clime and to every creed, with every possible diversity of political institutions, of social characteristics, of domestic law and of past history. To frame an instrument precise in every detail, logical in every line, which is to deal with the multiple affairs of so vast and so diverse a conglomeration of communities, to frame it with logical precision, and so that every possible case is foreseen and provided for, may well be beyond the wits with which humanity is endowed. Indeed, ladies and gentlemen, is it not somewhat as if some enterprising but idealistic tailor undertook to fit all the personages of this great Assembly with a common suit of clothes?

To me it seems, and to my Government it seems, that if this Assembly is to work smoothly, if the League of Nations is to exercise full authority and, above all, a healing and conciliatory influence, you must allow for this great diversity among our conditions. I can well believe that the Protocol fitted exactly the circumstances of some nations, though, as I know from communications which I have received since I made my statement to the Council in the month of March, there are not a few Governments, small as well as great, which shared the doubt and hesitation felt by the British Government itself.

Our attitude, however, is perhaps a consequence of those characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon mind upon which the Chairman at our opening meeting dwelt in an interesting and striking passage of his speech. It is, I think, natural, as he said, to the Latin mind first to fix certain abstract principles, to settle general rules, and then to proceed to apply them to detailed cases. Our history has taken a different course, and it has indelibly impressed its mark upon our outlook on public affairs. We are prone to eschew the general, we are fearful of these logical conclusions pushed to the extreme, because, in fact, human nature being what it is, logic plays but a small part in our everyday life. We are actuated by tradition, by affection, by prejudice, by moments of emotion and sentiment. In the face of any great problem we are seldom really guided by the stern logic of the philosopher or the historian who, removed from all the turmoil of daily life, works in the studious calm of his surroundings.

May I invite the Assembly for one moment to look at the history of my country? We have had no revolutionary disturbance for 250 years. Immense changes have taken place in that period in every aspect of our life. At no single moment have we formulated large general principles with a logical precision; on the contrary, nearly every vital decision that we have taken has been illogical, and, for that reason, all the more adapted to reconcile conflicting interests, to find the middle path, and to lead on by slow and gradual means to the desired end.

Take the relations of the various great communities of the British Empire among themselves. What was the Protocol? Something like a single code of law, a single constitution for all the States represented in this great Assembly. More than once at the gatherings of

Ministers of the British Empire we have considered whether we might not, whether we ought not, to endeavour to put into black and white the constitution of the British Empire, not as it is written, but as it is practised to-day and every time, and with unanimity representatives of those different Governments have decided that in the very elasticity which our want of logic and our want of precise definition afforded us lay the secret of our unity and our concord.

If these ideas be strange to other nations differently situated, at least you can see how this historical development of the British Constitution and of the British Empire must influence the outlook on these great questions of the representatives who speak to you in her name. It has been our practice, therefore, to eschew those large declarations of general principle, to avoid attempting to define exactly what should be done, and how it should be done in every possible contingency that we can contemplate, knowing, as we do, that even if we provided satisfactorily for every contingency that we could contemplate, it is quite as likely as not that the event which would actually happen would not conform to the exact detail of any of those which we had anticipated. We have proceeded from the particular to the general instead of from the general to the particular. We have been content to deal at any one moment with the evil of the day and to provide the remedy which that evil required. It is not out of a logical system proceeding from general hypotheses that our freedom, our liberties, our safety have grown. It is from the wise spirit of compromise which has inspired all British parties in critical moments and from our careful concentration upon the immediate problems which required a solution at the moment.

It is, therefore, inspired by all our history, by habits of mind that are inbred in us as a consequence of that history, that we approach the consideration of these great international problems. We are part authors of the original Covenant. We pledge again—though that, indeed, is not needed—our loyalty to the League and to the Covenant. We share your desire to see a sense of security give rest and peace to the peoples of this world, and if we think that the methods which the last Assembly chose are not best adapted to that end, if we think that, proceeding more modestly and at first attempting less, we may eventually achieve more, I beg you to believe that we act always in the spirit which inspired those who in successive years have sought to give to the Covenant a greater completeness and perfection.

Our ultimate aim, our *very* aim, like that of other members of the Assembly, is to promote peace, to establish peace firmly, to abolish war if you can, and, if not, to do everything to render it difficult to make war, to give time for the friends of peace to make their influence felt, and for the moral feeling of the world to pronounce a judgment on the attitude of the disputants and to indicate where justice lies. Ah, ladies and gentlemen, much of the attention of the last Assembly and of its Committees was directed to the physical sanctions to be applied against flagrant aggressors. I do not underrate their importance. I do not deny their necessity. But I say to you with profound conviction that the moral sanctions are as influential as the sanctions of force, and that the moral sanctions

act earlier, act more surely, and in the long run—and history is there to prove it—decide the issue of the combat.

Our object is not merely that there should be peace, but that all should feel that peace is secure. Disarmament through security, security through arbitration—arbitration, security, disarmament—are the common platform of the whole League of Nations. But there is another disarmament which is not less important, which indeed is more urgent, for it is a necessary preliminary to the physical disarmament of nations. It is the moral disarmament of the world. It is, as the Chairman said to us in his opening speech, the need of creating a new international soul and a new international morality. Unless we find some method to allay the distrust, to remove the suspicions, to take away those fears which now brood over not merely Government offices and Councils of Ministers but the mansions of the rich and the cottages of the poor in the lands which have been devastated by war or the populations of which have paid their toll in blood and sacrifice—unless we can do that we shall never succeed in achieving the great programme which we have set before us.

It has seemed to my Government, therefore, that the greatest contribution we could make was to seek in that region with which we are most intimately associated, a region which has too often been the origin and the theatre of war, and to secure, in the first place by mutual agreement amongst all those whose interests were immediately affected, a guarantee for the peace of that district, and that if we could achieve that we made no small contribution to the peace of the world.

By the instructions of my Government, I put our object before the Council in words which again, I hope, you will allow me to repeat: Our object is "to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements in order to meet special needs. That these arrangements should be purely defensive in character, that they should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, is manifest. And, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, these objects can best be obtained by knitting together the nations most immediately concerned, and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife, by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining, as between themselves, an unbroken peace."

What is the work in which some of the Governments here represented are now engaged? We seek no fresh alliance directed against some other party. We do not seek to continue the suspicions, the passions, the animosities of the past. Our object is to bring rest to our peoples and peace to the world, and if we succeed by such mutual agreements, not confined, I hope, to one narrow region, but finding, in suitable form, their application in other menaced spots, then indeed, ladies and gentlemen, I hope we shall have the sympathy and approval of the League of Nations, for we shall bring to the League great support, a great increase of its authority and influence and the largest contribution that it is in our power to make to the preservation of the peace of the world.

ANNEX III.—*Report of a Speech by His Excellency M. Paul Boncour (French Delegate) in the Assembly on 11th September 1925.*

M. Motta, the first delegate of the noble country now giving us hospitality, made a very sound remark this morning, which reminded me of a French proverb that must, I am sure, have its counterpart in every language, since it expresses an everyday thought. It is this: "Les jours se suivent et ne se ressemblent pas." The same is true of the Assemblies, and because we no longer hear the echoes of the impassioned debates of last year's Assembly—debates which leave to those who took part in them an indelible memory of the cordiality uniting even those who were opponents—because of this, I say, lovers of the sensational are dissatisfied with a session at which we simply deal with Austria and Mosul. Superficial minds, which cannot realise the amount and the difficulty of the work we are doing here, and even the powers of evil, the forces of war that still haunt the League, rejoice to think that we may yet fail the nations whose eyes are still upon us.

And yet I am here to say not lightly, but from the bottom of my heart, not merely on my own behalf, but on behalf of that great country whose name I am honoured by the first French Delegate to speak to-day—I am here to say that France still has the fullest and the most implicit confidence in the League of Nations, and not merely in its future destiny but in its present work.

This confidence I do not derive from our own wishes or ideas, but from a dispassionate examination of the international political situation of the moment.

Even if, as its detractors state, the League of Nations has been only a debating society, expressing platonic desires, the best proof that it has become the mainspring, the controlling spirit, of international politics is that it is necessarily affected by the delays, the pauses and also the decisions of that policy. But the League has never been a mere debating society. The French Prime Minister, in his inaugural speech which opened this Assembly, said so in unmistakable terms. The League of Nations, he said, was not the dream-child of a few idealists—a vision dwelling in a sphere far removed from the living world. It was founded in a land shaken with the tread of armies, still smoking with the ruins of war, still red with the blood of its sons.

The only wishes we must strive to fulfil here are the wishes of the dead—of those who have fallen in the war to end war. These wishes the League has interpreted to the last letter, in a treaty of the new kind; a treaty of the new alliance, but a treaty which differs from the rest only in that it is wider in scope, and which, like all other treaties, binds in honour those who have signed it. I refer to the Covenant, the basis of the League, to which, therefore, all who enter by its door—and that door stands wide open—have bound themselves.

The Covenant already contains all the obligations which we have endeavoured—though, of

course, it was a most difficult task—to define in detail, and, let me add, only to define. These efforts, which were necessary because the Covenant applied to, and linked together, all the nations of the world, and because the formulas adopted had to remain elastic and somewhat vague, necessary, too, in order to arrive at that definition, of the provisions of the Covenant which make it possible to apply them—these efforts have, as you know, always received the warm support of France.

At the third Assembly Resolution XIV was adopted, which was the happy result of an agreement between Viscount Cecil and Henry de Jouvenel. This resolution already attempts to connect two parts of the problem which still lies before us unsolved, and makes the reduction of armaments, which, under the terms of article 8 of the Covenant, is the fundamental basis of the League, conditional upon the establishment of a state of security necessary to enable this disarmament to become an accomplished fact.

Then there is the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission, based on Resolution XIV, and the drafting of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, in which work a leading part was taken on behalf of our country by that most eminent representative of labour organisations, M. Jouhaux, and by the former Prime Minister who held office in the tragic moments of August 1914—that colleague to whose memory we paid a sorrowful tribute at the opening of our Assembly, in which his voice has so often been heard.

France gave her full adhesion to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Not only her intellectuals, not only her politicians, but also her military leaders; her Chiefs of the Military and Naval staffs, meeting in the Commission d'Etudes of the Supreme Council for National Defence, realised that here was the new formula for mutual defence which was necessary to all States.

There were grave objections, however, the full weight of which was felt by our country, which prevented any possibility of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance coming into force. Two objections were advanced against it, each of which increased the importance of the other factor of the problem—arbitration.

It was said, on the one hand, by concentrating unduly on penalties we have lost sight of the moral and legal elements of the problem. The material elements had, as it were, upset the balance of the scheme; what was wanted was to develop the idea of arbitration which already existed in the Covenant.

On the other hand, it was said, the terrible system of penalties, which become more serious as they become more precise, can only be brought into play if the aggressor is ascertained beyond all possibility of doubt; and the fact that, for purely material and practical reasons, it is often impossible to determine the aggressor, revealed the necessity for arbitration; and arbitration was, I repeat, at the very basis of the League. The Covenant defines it in articles 12, 13, 14, and 15, and the League during its first Assembly in 1920, made its meaning still clearer by instituting the Permanent Court of International Justice and inviting the States to adhere to article 36 of the Statute of the Court, whereby they agree to submit their disputes to arbitration.

Such was the position last year, at the opening of the Fifth Assembly, the memory of which is still fresh in our minds and hearts. Some of us are bent on founding international peace on general and compulsory arbitration, amending, completing and defining that which may still be incomplete, imperfect, or vague in the articles of the Covenant. Others remind us that an arbitral award, like any other judicial decision, is valueless unless there is a binding force attached to it. They tell us that arbitration would be fatally imperilled if we risked calling it into play in vain, since the defaulting State which had agreed to arbitration would not, after all, suffer the full penalties laid down by the Contracting States, and would accordingly place in a position of inferiority the State which, in view of its international undertakings, had submitted to arbitration.

Arbitration, security and disarmament, then, become the three terms of the formula defined last year by M. Heriot, and repeated this year by M. Painlevé, who insisted that these three terms are inseparable and form a logical sequence—first, arbitration; next, penalties ensuring security; and, last of all, the final goal—disarmament.

It was upon this basis that slowly, minutely, yet fervently—for there was not one of us but realised the interests involved—we built up the Protocol of 1924.

This Protocol introduces nothing that does not already exist in the Covenant; it simply defines the provisions of the Covenant so as to bring them in touch with the realities of international life. The Protocol is to the Covenant—to quote an expression which I once used upon this platform and which has frequently been repeated since—what the rules of public administration are to the law. These rules possess in themselves no binding force other than that derived from the law for which they serve as a commentary and which they interpret and help to apply; but without these regulations the law would be merely a statement of principle that would often remain outside the field of practical reality.

This Protocol imposes no obligation or penalty not already laid down in the Covenant. In articles 10 and 11 it provides that all the Contracting States shall come to the assistance of the State attacked and place their resources at its disposal as against the aggressor. Article 16, which forms the fundamental basis of the Covenant, defines and determines the various categories of sanctions. It defines those that are compulsory and uniform for all States, irrespective of their geographical position, their place in history or their military power. These are the economic and financial penalties, and there is no State, whatever its place in the world, whatever its standing, whatever its geographical position, which cannot offer its economic and financial support to a State which is the victim of aggression and withdraw all such support from the State responsible for the act of aggression.

Military, naval and air sanctions cannot be put into uniform operation or constitute a uniform obligation, because certain States, whether on account of their geographical situation or the scale of their armaments, or because their history has long since removed the difficulties with which

other States still have to cope, cannot be compelled to substitute, for the relative degree of disarmament they have already attained, an armament which would be contrary and paradoxical to, and, as it were, the negation of the very aims which the League of Nations pursues.

Article 16 of the Covenant, therefore, judiciously notifies the compulsory nature of some of the sanctions, while as regards the others it makes recommendations.

Study the Protocol, study articles 11, 12 and 13, which define these sanctions, and I defy anyone to find in them anything which adds to the obligations imposed by the Covenant or makes compulsory anything not already contained in article 16 of the Covenant.

These articles of the Protocol, with their great practical flexibility, simply make the operation of these sanctions more definite, more easy, more practical and more rapid; they certainly add nothing to them.

As regards economic and financial sanctions, which, under article 16 of the Covenant, are compulsory for all, obligations which all present or future Members of the League have accepted or will accept, it adds nothing, but prepares them, solely on the basis of preconceived plans, in such a way that, when the time comes, as little as possible shall be left to chance, and in such a way that chance, which in itself creates a feeling of insecurity, will not prevent States from yielding to the atmosphere of peace which we desire should reign throughout the world.

As regards the military, naval, and air sanctions, the Protocol maintains their optional character, but particularly lays down that, in order to remain within the spirit of the Covenant assistance must be measured according to capacity, each State giving what it has, all that it has, and only what it has, and—in article 11—making provisions for those nations which, through their geographical situation or the state of their armaments, cannot assist in the application of military sanctions.

Then, as in the case of economic and financial sanctions, the Protocol has been planned with due allowance for practical realities. Article 13 lays down that States must determine in advance the effective forces which, if necessary, and in certain concrete cases, they could bring to the assistance of the victim of aggression. And, to carry this elasticity and flexibility further, article 13 makes provision for partial and regional agreements between nations which find themselves faced with more definite and pressing problems, and desire to obtain a clearer definition of the forces they would place at the service of the Contracting State attacked. The Assembly has certainly not forgotten that these regional agreements were very keenly discussed by the Third Committee, and I can at least assure the first delegate for the British Empire that, even at that time, the French Delegation had already adopted all the practical advice he gave us yesterday.

I will not labour this point. The whole of this text is still fresh in your memory. As you see, it is not based on any theoretical or symmetrical idea. Its aim was rather to bring the somewhat theoretical provisions of the corresponding articles of the Covenant into line with the realities, the variety and the many-sidedness of life.

The Protocol is here; it is ever present. Only an Assembly has the right to destroy what a preceding Assembly has built up. The register is open. On its empty page the first delegate of France, M. Briand, placed his country's signature. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber unanimously ratified it. I merely point to this fact to prove, by this unanimous agreement, my country's desire for peace.

Other nations have not seen their way to give their adhesion. The Protocol has not received the necessary number of signatures. I will not say that neither has it received signatures of sufficient weight, because I hold that there are no great or small nations but only nations equal in the eyes of justice. What I mean is that it did not receive the signature of nations which by their importance, by the part they play in the world as well as by their devotion to the cause of peace, ought to have a decisive influence upon the application of the Protocol. And why did these States not sign? I think it would not be suitable for me to analyse their reasons; it would be, as it were, an encroachment upon the sovereignty of States, a principle which lies at the very foundation of the League. I simply note the fact and deplore it. For, indeed, if it stood alone, it would be a very serious setback to the work to this session.

If it stood alone! But note the facts of international politics. Side by side, parallel with us, on planes which must remain separate but which are in the immediate vicinity, in the very atmosphere of the League, partial agreements are in course of negotiation. I speak of them freely, because I know no more about them than you yourselves. But there is something which, in my opinion, tells us more than any document. It is the word of the first delegate of the British Empire; it is his solemn affirmation that nothing in these pacts is contrary to the spirit of the League. And then the Press, as you know, is so wideawake—for it shares the aversion of the people to secret diplomacy—that negotiations, however discreet, inevitably become all but public in the end.

Let us think over the facts we already possess.

Are these treaties of the old kind? Outworn formulas of the old diplomacy, which in the course of centuries has, I admit, given us periods of transient security? Security, yes, but, with group constantly opposed to group, always containing a hidden venom and a menace of war! This is so true that the peoples of the world have held these treaties responsible in part for all the blood which has been shed.

From the fragmentary rumours that reach us from the hushed precincts of the chancelleries, we perceive the fundamental difference between these old treaties and the pacts that have been negotiated since last year. Against what enemies are these pacts directed? They bear no ethnical or geographical name. It is the future enemy, whoever he may be, who will provide the name, and that name will be held up to the reprobation of the world.

The enemy in these pacts is the aggressor.

But who is to determine the aggressor if the act of aggression itself does not do so, as, for instance, if one of the demilitarised zones referred to in article 13 of the Protocol were violated? Will it be one of the Contracting Parties? Or a group of Contracting Parties?

No; it will be arbitration.

And who is to be the arbiter if, finally, the arbitration provided for in these pacts proves inadequate to settle a dispute?

It will be the League of Nations. And not until the aggressor is revealed, either through the act itself—which will, of course, be determined by the League—or by arbitration, will the guarantees provided in these pacts be brought into play in the form of military sanctions.

Aggressor? Arbitration? League of Nations? Control, in consequence, by the League? Responsibility of the League for the operation of these pacts?

Surely we have heard of these before. These are the very words we used in our discussions last September.

Arbitration? And security also, I think, which is to be the final term, the product of the first two. But—I speak in hushed tones, or, at any rate, in tones as hushed as can be used on this world-wide platform—these three terms constitute the very principles of the Protocol itself, and of the Protocol undismembered, unutilized; just as if we were yielding to the—as I think—reprehensible temptation of removing from it some of its terms, instead of leaving it as it should be—an undivided whole. Each of the pacts now under discussion is in itself a partial Protocol, yet consistent with each other, and the essential principles of the Protocol have been retained.

To be exact, this is the application of the principles of the Protocol to concrete and definite cases, cases for which the States concerned felt urgently bound to make provision; but, although they are limited as regards application, although they apply to concrete cases, the principles involved are still those of the Protocol that you drew up last September. You may well be proud of your work, therefore; you may well be confident.

Arbitration, definition of the aggressor, security! Surely there are your own ideas which are penetrating the hushed precincts of the chancelleries.

And yet, must the League of Nations, robbed of its offspring by reason of its very success, look on inactive, unconcerned, while such great events are passing? Surely not. And so I find myself unavoidably drawn into a controversy, courteous indeed—nay, more, fraternal, since it is taking place between States which are pursuing the same ends, though by different means—and I must call into question some of the statements made from this platform by the first delegate of the British Empire.

Mr. Chamberlain gave us a most eloquent and stirring account of the history of his own country; his analysis revealed both his own cultured mind and the strong political tradition to which he is attached. His account glowed with that pride which is shared by all of us here; even when we are working to create a wider organisation, we still cling to the deep-rooted traditions of our own past.

Mr. Chamberlain cited the history of his own country as example. He showed us that the British Empire, which was the first to establish the institutions of freedom and parliamentary institutions, has for 250 years been free from

any violent upheaval. He showed us how, as a result of this settled condition and the solidity of its institutions, the British Empire has extended its power to the four corners of the earth. He said to us: "Let the League remember that all this has been accomplished without a previous plan, by empirical methods, and by an endeavour to reach a suitable solution in each particular case". He pushed his illustration to a logical extreme, if I may say so, in his endeavour to prove the fundamental illogicality underlying these particular cases.

There we cannot follow him, for where the British statesman who spoke on this platform sees illogicality we ourselves see only the splendid continuity of English history. Yes, there is a profound sense of reality, a sound experience, a methodical desire always to solve on its own merits any problem which arises; but the solutions reached form a regular sequence of events when viewed in the light of the underlying basis of the British Empire's institutions and its requirements. All that is a story which the great British author, Kipling, has rightly called "the finest story in the world".

And for the League of Nations, this other great fatherland that we are establishing by bringing to it, each of us, some of the wealth of our own nations, by endowing it with all the experience acquired from our national temperaments and our national histories—for the League of Nations we ask the same continuity. We do not want it, year after year, to have to return to the same old problem by putting forward solutions which are merely rejected on the morrow.

We remember that Penelope herself, at long last, saw the prow of Ulysses' vessel approaching her over the glittering sea, and I really think that in his wanderings around the Mediterranean, Ulysses is the prototype of the great maritime Powers.

Since we are all bringing to the League the fruit of our experience, the wealth of our national histories, let us draw from this object-lesson and from English history all the truths that they convey. Let us seek to solve each problem as it is laid before us, inspired by vast idealistic conceptions and taking due account of the setbacks we shall inevitably encounter. Above all, we must on no account be discouraged if it happens that, as a result of these setbacks, events take a different course from that which we had intended. But, despite this, we must also link each problem to the next. We must follow up each agreement by another agreement if it is by a system of individual agreements that we are to erect an edifice which, if you will allow me to say so, will be uncommonly like the Protocol which the first British delegate has condemned. In spite of this, however, let us try to keep before us the aim of universality, which, I assure you, is not a mere arbitrary concept of our minds, but is simply an accurate reflection of what happens in a world-war—in the late war as well as the war which will break out to-morrow if we do not succeed in the work we have come here to do.

We have seen—and Europe cannot forget the lessons it has learnt—that the first shell fired in a world which has not thought upon the morrow produces effects which are felt to the uttermost

bounds of that world. How do we know that in this Europe of ours, this small continent to which ultimately all the nations in the world came and fought in its quarrels, peace may not be overthrown by a gun fired on some distant ocean!

Universality, alas! is not a mere arbitrary concept of the mind. Through the very interdependence of all nations, and through the fact that modern warfare must inevitably be waged on a large scale, it has become an inescapable reality for us in our endeavour to abolish war.

We still believe—we should be insincere were we to say otherwise, and I wish to be as frank as was the British Delegate the other day—that, in view of the world-wide extent of the danger, we must surely employ world-wide measures of prevention. We believe that some day it will be found that the Protocol was a vital necessity for the peace of the world.

But since, for the time being, events have taken another turn, since the States which are most immediately menaced have adopted the method of partial agreements—which, as I have shown, are in accordance with the principles of the Protocol itself—the League should at any rate exert every means in its power to increase the number of these agreements, at the same time taking care to see that they are in accordance with the essential principles of the Covenant and the Protocol.

A single pact is not enough. Already we have learnt through the investigations of the Press that there is more than one pact, or, at any rate, that the signature of one particular pact in Western Europe is conditional upon the signing of a similar pact in Eastern Europe. The inevitable interdependence of Western and Eastern Europe has already become an accomplished fact through these partial agreements.

Do you think, does the League think, that these two pacts will suffice? If this is to be the path chosen by our diplomats, do you imagine that, both in view of the experience gained through these partial agreements—and this is the great lesson which I wish to draw from what the first delegate of the British Empire said—and also because there will necessarily be other agreements arising out of these—since it will be dangerous for any nation to remain outside these pacts without concluding others to meet its own needs—do you imagine that we shall not find these agreements concluded in large numbers in order to meet equally numerous requirements? It must be so; the League of Nations must exert its influence to this end. Then, when there are a large number of these agreements, when they cover, in every part of the world, the risk of the conflicts which each group of nations considers to be most imminent, do you imagine that these agreements will not require to be adjusted and co-ordinated?

And, then, what body will be qualified to do so but the League of Nations?

Moreover, these pacts will ultimately bring into action all the machinery of the League. They are—I ask your pardon for repeating the expression, but it adequately expresses my idea—they are pervaded by the atmosphere of the League, they apply its principles unaltered, they are only

limited in time and space, and they are therefore experiments which may lead to others.

What, then, is the League's immediate duty in regard to these pacts? The League has asked for work; its energies demand some outlet. Do you not think that through its technical organisations and committees the League ought at once to prepare for the great and multifarious duties which it may have to fulfil to-morrow?

To take only two examples: From what we hear, these agreements will organise arbitration, apart, of course, from clear cases of aggression, such as the violation of a demilitarised zone, and, in many cases, arbitration will ultimately lead to arbitration by the League itself.

Yet remember that last year, when we sought to strengthen arbitration in order to ensure a clear definition of the aggressor—and I know that my colleagues on the First Committee will have a particularly vivid recollection of this—we found that the articles of the Covenant which provide for arbitration were incomplete. In the first place, the Council's decision must be unanimous, and, in the second, one of the disputant States may take refuge behind its domestic laws. We saw that there were gaps through which some day, under the pressure of the forces let loose by war—popular passion, economic needs and so on—the whole flood of war might pour forth once more.

It was one of the most difficult and complex, and one of the most essential, tasks of the First Committee to draw up in detail those articles of the Protocol which were intended to fill the existing gaps.

Do you not think that, if it is called upon one day—as we have every reason to suppose it will be—to intervene in cases of arbitration arising under these pacts, the League should consider how the gaps we found last year can be filled? And as there cannot be two practical solutions for one and the same problem, I think that the only possible solution is one which is remarkably like the first part of the Protocol.

But the idea of arbitration contains something more—it has its dangers. The idea fascinates us, and rightly so. It is the right basis on which to found peace, because it is the only means of determining the aggressor which all nations accept without demur. But unorganised arbitration involves great dangers. As we know only too well from the difficulties which in recent years—indeed even this year, and even now—the Council of the League has had to solve, arbitration is bound to entail lengthy investigations and researches and there are moments of hesitation and uncertainty; meanwhile the time passes.

Remember that the Covenant even prescribes a period of nine months. Nine months! That is much longer than thoroughly equipped nations require to prepare for war if they secretly intend not to submit to arbitration. That is why the Protocol contains a passage—and a vital passage—referring to measures to preserve the *status quo* in the case of arbitration. No provision, however, is made for these measures in the general Covenant of the League. I do not know whether such a stipulation exists in the partial agreements, for we are building upon texts we have never seen. But, whatever the

stipulations of the pacts, when the time comes to impose measures of this nature, involving investigations, upon States between which the spectre of war has arisen, I know of only one institution of such high standing and such impartiality as to be acceptable to both parties, and that is the League of Nations.

Do you imagine there is no immediate need to lay down a procedure for measures to preserve the *status quo*, as is done in the Protocol?

I might give many more instances, but I have already kept you longer than I intended, and I must thank you for your kindness in listening to me. I will not burden you with more examples I will stop here.

One last word, however. What is the third term of the problem, the third aim that we have inscribed above the portal of our edifice—or rather which we have laid down as a part of the foundation on which to build up the texts that are to define the Covenant? This third term has perhaps, more than any other, awakened hope in the soul of the nations. It is perhaps principally for the sake of this word that the peoples have fixed their hopes upon us, and as we know how infinitely difficult and complex a problem it is, as we know that it can only be an end and not a beginning, it is for us to tranquillise, if I may say so, the hopes that the peoples are placing in us. Nonetheless it was for the sake of this ultimately inevitable third term that the League was founded: It is the message which gleamed in the eyes of the dying, as the eye of a murdered man reflects the image of his murderer—that third term is “disarmament”.

Until we have achieved this, we have achieved nothing.

Can we have disarmament before security? Impossible! France says so, for she will enter into no engagement which she cannot keep.

Can we have disarmament after security? Can we summon a Disarmament Conference, a Conference for the reduction of armaments, as soon as the League has ascertained that a state of security exists? After M. Painlevé's speech I think I am not exceeding my Government's intentions in saying that, when that day comes, France will answer the call.

Through its very universality the Protocol has made it possible for our aim to be attained. It linked up that claim closely with the general body of its provisions. It was laid down that the Conference for the reduction of armaments could not be held until the Protocol had received a number of signatures sufficient to render it operative, and at the same time, in order to ensure that the contracting nations would submit to such provisions as the Conference might agree upon, it was laid down that the Protocol itself should become inoperative in respect of any Powers that refused to stand by the undertakings given at the Conference on the reduction of armaments.

The terms of the problem were firmly welded together, and formed a solid structure. And now, what is to take its place?

In view of the turn which events have taken, in view of these separate pacts inspired by the

principles of the Protocol, each of which represents a partial and limited fulfilment of the Protocol idea, is the great hope of reducing armaments destined to perish?

It is the duty of the League to grapple with this problem. If, by concluding more of these pacts, and by concluding them in harmony with the principles of the Protocol—if, by this devious and broken road, we really succeed in establishing a state of security approximating to that which the Protocol would have established, then I think it would be the duty of the Council, when it is convinced that such a state of security exists, to exercise the powers assigned to it in the Protocol by summoning a Conference on the reduction of armaments.

But if you wish all to be in readiness for this Conference when the time comes, it is necessary to make immediately the technical preparations. It would surely be well to instruct the technical bodies to begin this work, for we cannot but realise—and the world which is watching us must also be made to realise—that this is a highly delicate, difficult, and complex task; the weapons will not fall from the hands of men or nations at the first sound of the magic word.

These reductions of armaments will have to be measured by the needs of each country, and those needs must be weighed not only against the extent of the country's territory, but against what we may call—since modern warfare is waged as much by means of industry as by armies—its “potential mobilisation strength”. It is essential that our technical organisations should go to the root of the problem, lest when the time comes, if it does come—and come it must—this Conference on the reduction of armaments should dash our hopes, and prove the death-blow of the League of Nations.

I have said my say, and I must crave your pardon for the length at which I have spoken. By brief examples—some inadequately sketched, since the problems at issue are so vast—I have endeavoured, not only for myself but for my country, to express before this Assembly my profound convictions. My earnest hope is either that, some day, custom, aided by the operation of the separate pacts which are now in course of negotiation, will show us that these incomplete experiments justify the wider and more comprehensive experiment of the Protocol, or else that, by the very multiplication of these pacts applying the principles of the Protocol, we shall reach a position approximating to that which the Protocol itself would have created. However that may be, we must link this year's problems with last year's work, which was itself but the culmination of a series of earlier efforts—continuous, as I have tried to show, since all were alike inspired by the desire not to add to, but to explain, the Covenant.

The time has not yet come, then, for us to fling over the Protocol that gold and purple pall beneath which the dead gods sleep. The structure we once built on the shore of this lake is still there, firm and unshaken. The passing wave may distort and dim its image, but its essential features form once again in the passing river. The fragmentary structures in which diplomacies must perforce put their faith can only be built upon the plan which we have drawn.

ANNEX IV.—*Report of a Speech by His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta, Swiss Delegate, in the Assembly on 11th September 1925.*

No one can mount this platform without a certain sense of fear and some emotion, because the echo of our words spreads further from this tribune than from any other. On the one hand, we are supposed to represent the opinions of the Governments which sent us here, and, on the other, to interpret public opinion in our country; this must give us a very keen sense of our responsibilities.

Further, when we come to consider the work of the Council, a vast domain opens out before us—a domain which lies within the competence both of the Council and of the Assembly, without any very definite lines of demarcation.

The Council is not a Government nor any similar institution; nor is the Assembly a Parliament; as an Assembly, therefore, we have no actual right of control, and the legal responsibilities of the two bodies must be kept separate. That does not prevent the Council and Assembly from being organs of the same international organisation, nor, despite the absence of any legal co-responsibility, does it preclude the existence of a certain moral solidarity between the two.

The League of Nations was born of the very war itself. If that war had not taken place, we should probably have had no league to-day. It was only natural, therefore, that the first manifestations of this great institution should bear some traces of its origin. It was a common-saying that the League of Nations was an alliance of the victors against the vanquished. It was inevitable that the spirit of alliances born of the fire and blood of war should sometimes find itself, at all events to a certain extent, in opposition to the calm and magnanimous spirit of the League.

I am glad to see that the Council has on many occasions shown itself capable of rising to the highest plane of justice. I note this fact with gratitude, and I have no hesitation in expressing my confidence that this determination to attain complete impartiality, even in the application of the peace treaties, will become increasingly manifest.

Some of us here have had the honour of representing our countries since the first day on which the Assembly met, that is to say, for six years; we have been present at every phase of the gradual progress of pacification; and truth bids us proclaim that that progress has been considerable, I would even say immense.

The moving factor in this work of transforming mind and conscience is the League.

We sometimes hear it said that this year's Assembly will be uneventful and even dull. That, I think, is not necessarily a matter for regret. The meetings of the Council and Assembly need not always be sensational. The League must bear in mind that its most useful work in the future will consist, not in suppressing or even in settling disputes, but in creating conditions which will prevent the occurrence of disputes.

I do not propose to discuss in detail the question of the Geneva Protocol, which has been the principal theme of the eloquent speeches we have heard these last few days. There are two reasons for my silence. The first is that I had the signal, if unmerited, honour of presiding over the Assembly at which that work was brought to a conclusion; the second is based upon the peculiar position of my country as a Member of the League, a position due to its permanent neutrality recognised by international law and solemnly confirmed in the Declaration of London in 1920.

I merely desire to correct one mistake which is, I think, rather frequently made. It is often said that the Protocol was adopted by last year's Assembly because of the fact that the delegations voted unanimously in favour of all its provisions. This, however, is incorrect: the Assembly simply sent the Protocol to all the Governments, recommending them to give it their earnest attention. If, last year, the delegations had been required to bind themselves in any way beyond the terms of this recommendation, some of them would most certainly have abstained from voting, or would even have voted against the motion.

It is better, in the very interests of the future of the League, to look the facts in the face, to dispel illusions and reveal the true state of affairs.

I listened yesterday with the closest interest to the lucid and discriminating speech of the first delegate of the British Empire. Even if I cannot fully subscribe to certain of the opinions expressed by that eminent statesman, I think that no one can dispute the importance and the solemnity of the occasion when the Minister for Foreign Affairs of one of the greatest countries in the world appears before 47 assembled delegations to give a loyal and reasoned explanation of his attitude.

Any person who before the war had dreamt of the Minister of a great State explaining the policy of his country to an Assembly in which great and small nations met on equal terms would have been called a visionary born before his time.

We believe that the vital part of the Protocol is that which concerns compulsory arbitration, because arbitration—even unaccompanied by material sanctions, if reinforced by moral sanctions, that is, by the sovereign power of public opinion—constitutes a pledge of peace which is of incalculable value. I shall always maintain that arbitration forms the corner-stone of our edifice. This idea, even without the fuller definitions of the Protocol, already underlies the Covenant.

The creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is the most decisive event in the recent history of international law. This institution will acquire an even wider range of action when—and I most earnestly hope that the day may not be far distant—the United States of America also give their adhesion to that Court. There can be no State where there are no law courts. We are accustomed, in examining the nature of our several States and the State as an abstract, to regard law courts and State as inseparable ideas. It is impossible to conceive, within a State, a tribunal

not possessing compulsory jurisdiction. The day will come, I think, when a truth that holds good for each State will be seen to hold good in international relations also. Moreover, setting aside the question of the Protocol as a whole, those chapters which refer to arbitration are already, and inevitably, producing their effect. The proof lies in the negotiations for the Security Pact between Germany and her former enemies, for arbitration is regarded in that Pact as one of the means of realising the Contracting Parties' aim.

Shall I give you a further proof of this truth which I have just enunciated? Shall I give you a proof drawn from the policy of my own country?

In 1920 Switzerland, Denmark, and Portugal were the first countries to accept the optional clause in the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice providing for compulsory jurisdiction. Since then the Confederation has entered into engagements with several States which have also adhered to that clause. Some quote by way of example the Northern European countries, the Netherlands, and Austria. I might add several more. After giving our adhesion to the optional clause we concluded a number of separate treaties of arbitration and conciliation. I will only refer to one which is of special importance—the Treaty concluded by the Confederation with Germany in 1921.

Last year, on 20th September, when the Assembly was actually sitting, we signed with Italy a treaty, the importance of which cannot be over-emphasised, because it is the most signal triumph of the principle of arbitration between neighbouring States, one of which is a great Power. Since that date, and since the important discussions on the Protocol—indeed to a certain extent under the influence of those discussions—the Confederation has signed further treaties with France, Belgium, and Poland. The treaty with France is also an example of this type. In my view, it reflects even greater honour on the French Republic than on the Swiss Confederation, for I do not forget that the French Republic is a great Power and that Switzerland is a small State. The Swiss Confederation will shortly sign a similar treaty with Spain. Other negotiations are in progress. In all probability, but for the impulse given by the discussions on the Geneva Protocol, these arbitration treaties would never have been signed. If treaties of the same kind were concluded between groups of neighbouring States, there would soon exist a system of arbitration treaties covering the whole world and in particular the whole of Europe.

Proceeding from the particular to the general, by easy but regular stages, the principle of compulsory arbitration will ultimately prevail.

The Swiss Government has authorised me to declare before this Assembly that it is prepared to renew its adhesion to the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice for a further period of 10 years immediately on the expiration of the first period of five years. I trust that those other States which have already accepted the clause providing for the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice will be ready to

do the same. I even intend, before the end of this Assembly, to express the hope that those States which have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court will renew their undertaking.

In principle, the Swiss Delegation is in favour of any effort made in the direction I have just indicated. It heartily welcomes, though with reservations as regards the drafting, the proposal submitted yesterday by the Swedish Delegation.

I should be happy if, when I left this platform, I had succeeded in showing you that Switzerland—the seat of the League of Nations—has remained faithful to its origins, its history and its political ideals and has ceaselessly endeavoured to strengthen—as far as a small country can—not only the foundations of its own security but those of universal peace.

ANNEX V.—Report of a Speech by His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (Hungarian Delegate), in the Assembly on 14th September 1925.

If I venture, at so late a stage, to take part in this discussion, on the most serious problems which have ever been submitted to the League, it is because I feel that those who are on the other side of the line—since there is a line—should be heard, and because I consider that they are not only entitled, but in fact bound, to endeavour to throw light upon the situation as a whole. This can only be done if all points of view are expressed.

I need scarcely say that the few observations I have to offer mainly concern the problem which is not only the burning question of the day, but an epitome of the whole task of the League. I refer to the Protocol, unanimously adopted by the Assembly last year and now brought once more into prominence by subsequent events.

But before coming to my main point, I venture to offer a few general remarks upon two other subjects, one of which is a bright spot on the horizon—at any rate, from our point of view—whilst the other constitutes one of the great difficulties with which we have to contend, one of the grave threats to the friendship and general unity of the nations and one of the great obstacles to that moral disarmament of which the British delegate spoke so eloquently; I refer to the question of minorities.

The first matter, with which I will deal briefly, as one of my colleagues more competent than myself will perhaps deal with the question at greater length, is the financial reconstruction of Hungary.

You know that important results have been obtained through the able collaboration of the Financial Committee and the Council and the sympathy displayed by the whole Assembly. The extraordinary success achieved may be summed up by stating that instead of a deficit of 100 million gold crowns, for which provision had been made in the Financial Committee's scheme, we have a surplus of 60 million gold crowns.

I must add, however, that this success is not wholly due to the collaboration of the able and distinguished men who have helped us with their advice—including above all that eminent American statesman, Mr. Smith, the League's Commissioner-General, who, from legal Controller, has become also a friend and adviser; this success is also due—if the representative of Hungary may be permitted to say so—to the collaboration of the Hungarian people themselves.

The goodwill, devotion and spirit of sacrifice with which the Hungarian taxpayer has submitted to the relatively heavy burdens necessarily imposed upon him is a fact which, I think, adds to the glory of my people, because it shows, better than any words, our ardent patriotism and our resolute will. Just as after the war a monument in memory of an unknown warrior is raised beside the monuments erected to perpetuate the glory of victorious generals, so in this work of the financial reconstruction of Hungary the unknown taxpayer deserves to have a monument dedicated to him, or at least he deserves a few words to commemorate his efforts.

Let us now review, as briefly as possible, the question of minorities. I will say, in the first place, that this year, as last year, this is still a burning question. In the few words I said on this subject at the last Assembly, I did not mention any particular case, or make any specific accusation. This year my procedure will be the same. Indeed, to act otherwise would be quite useless, as it would merely envenom an atmosphere which it is our duty to keep as pure as possible and free from any spirit of antagonism or criticism.

If, in the matter of minorities, the work of the League and the Council has not yet produced the results for which we had hoped, if it has not yet succeeded in fully reassuring the 40,000,000 citizens who compose these minorities, it is not due to lack of goodwill or capacity on the part of eminent members of the Council. I think it is due rather to defects in procedure, and, since the Council has been kind enough to submit to us a report setting out and enumerating all the changes in procedure which have been made since it first considered the question, I think we are well within our rights in offering a few observations on this subject.

To be brief, it appears to me that the Council's procedure needs to be amended on three points. It is not I who have invented these points; the International Federation of League of Nations Societies has defined them in a resolution which was unanimously adopted by representatives of public opinion in almost all the countries of Europe.

The first amendment, the first usage, the new provision which I should like to see introduced into the Council's regulations with regard to minorities would be this: When petitions emanate from certain sources, from supreme ecclesiastical organisations or the cultural and economic institutions of the different countries, they could and should be considered as documents to be laid before the Council without further examination. There is no need to explain in detail the reasons for this suggestion. It seems to me that simply to reject such petitions,

without further examination, would be regarded by the minorities in question as a kind of insult, and would disturb—even seriously disturb—their sense of security and might shake their belief that their cause was receiving serious consideration, a matter as relevant and almost as important as the justice of the decisions themselves.

The second recommendation which I venture to make is this—that at all stages of the procedure representatives of petitioners should have the right to be heard and should be allowed to state their case and reply to objections, as in an ordinary lawsuit.

You may perhaps reply that the Council is always free to hear these representatives whenever it thinks fit, and I am sure the Council makes use of this right whenever such a course appears necessary. In such a case, however, the Council merely exercises discretionary powers, and the use of discretionary powers only inspires confidence amongst the limited number of those who know the persons to whom the discretionary power has been granted. The great mass of the people concerned can only have confidence when there is a fixed legal rule determining and defining their rights.

The third observation I should like to make is this: Whenever a point of law is raised at the request of one of the parties, reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion should be obligatory. This does not imply lack of confidence. I am bound to reiterate this point, because last year a similar expression of opinion offended certain susceptibilities. I am not proposing a vote of no confidence. I am not criticising the distinguished members of the Council. I am merely enunciating a principle which is recognised by the whole world. The settlement of points of law is work not for political assemblies, but for courts of law. It is work for the Courts specially set up to decide litigious questions.

I should like to offer one further observation of a general nature.

I have said that there can be no question of a vote of no confidence. Similarly, to press the question of the fate of minorities does not imply any hostile feeling towards those countries which have large minorities.

On the contrary, I think it is as much to their interest—from the point of view of national consolidation—as it is to the interest of peace and tranquillity in general that minorities should not only enjoy all the rights which treaties accord them, but should also be assured that in case of dispute these questions will be judged from a legal and not a political angle. In these matters, the psychological aspect of the question is as important as the decision itself.

I now come to the most serious and the most important subject under discussion—the Protocol.

Most of us shared last year in that great movement of enthusiasm which led to the unanimous adoption by the Assembly of the Protocol. I personally played my humble part in preparing it throughout its various stages, since I had the honour to be appointed a member of the Legal Sub-Committee, and I count those three laborious weeks, during which I had the privilege of working with the most eminent personalities of

the legal world and the highest authorities in international law, amongst the most interesting and happiest memories of my long political life.

We all know the change which has occurred in the situation. I gave my adhesion to the Protocol, but only in a personal capacity, as I had not been empowered by my Government to speak in its name. Nevertheless, I said that I regarded my personal adhesion as a moral engagement to do all I could to bring about the acceptance of the Protocol by the Government and Parliament of my country.

I have devoted myself to this task, and the Hungarian Government was engaged in examining the Protocol when the change in the British Government, and the attitude of the present British Government, modified the whole situation.

Before the change the Protocol represented the unanimous will of the Great Powers, or at least of their representatives in this Assembly. After the change no such unanimity existed. In these circumstances my Government held—and I think its attitude was fully justified—that Hungary, occupying but a modest position in the family of nations, could not take sides in a debate between the Great Powers of the world.

We have heard these differences of opinion stated, and the effect has been, I will not say to eclipse the Protocol, but, at any rate, to render it a mere theoretical instrument which cannot for the moment be put into force.

We have listened to the discussion; we have not only heard authoritative and highly interesting definitions of the difference between the British and French mentalities, but we have had the rare privilege of seeing these theoretical differences confirmed and illustrated by typical representatives of each—the first delegate for the British Empire, Mr. Chamberlain, on the one hand, and M. Paul-Boncour on the other. I think that the truest or sincerest compliment I can pay them is to say that they represent two national individualities, each of which is as great as the other, each of which has played an equally great rôle in the development of humanity, and each of which is indispensable to the future progress of humanity; and that they are both typical representatives, true representatives, the most personal representatives of the individuality of their respective nations.

If it were merely a question of being present at an intellectual feast of the finest order, the present discussion would have been enthralling and interesting. But it is more than that.

A disagreement exists, and scarcely any suggestion has been made as to how it is to be smoothed over. I shall revert to this point later. We have heard M. Paul-Boncour, in his memorable speech, which I whole-heartedly applauded, and that not merely because it was a work of art. We have seen him make a very ingenious attempt to adopt the analytical methods followed by the British. He explained that if we ultimately succeeded, by means of special agreements and by following a devious path, in obtaining a general agreement, the result would still be a general and world-wide agreement like the Protocol, since special agreements would be of no value unless welded into one whole and so made universal.

I already foresee the British reply to this argument: "We quite agree," they will say; "we too desire finally to obtain an agreement which will include the whole civilised world; but we wish to obtain it, not by enunciating a general theory based on general principles—which would probably receive a different application in different States—but by taking, as you suggest, the *terra firma* for our basis and by concluding partial agreements which, being more readily adaptable to circumstances, will provide better guarantees than a general agreement based on a universal theory." This appears quite plausible.

After this reply, however—which, though not actually made, was in the minds of all—M. Benes addressed us. In a speech which I admire for its profound political wisdom, he said: "We do not object to this method, but I warn you that it will take long to apply. It will be long before these partial arrangements are concluded, and when their number is sufficiently large and they have been co-ordinated—which is absolutely necessary—they will in the end give us a system very much the same as the Protocol."

This is perfectly true. I will even go further and say, with that frankness which I have always endeavoured to maintain, particularly in this Assembly, that I cannot to-day see any possibility of concluding, in that part of Europe to which I belong, such regional arrangements embracing all nations. I need not give reasons for this. I will again quote M. Paul-Boncour—not his speech, but something he said in a private conversation, and I acknowledge his authorship because I do not wish to steal another's thoughts. "The psychological difficulties," he said, "are so many and so formidable that it may, in practice prove easier, to conclude a general agreement than to conclude partial agreements." Where there are still latent antagonisms, to which it is better not to shut one's eyes, which it is better to admit than to palliate, agreement can be reached within a general framework. But we can hardly expect hostile nations to conclude regional and special arrangements amongst themselves. M. Benes, who belongs to the same European group as myself, who is on the other side of the trench, but who sees the trench as well as I do, realises this. He says that the task will be difficult and long. I myself, without going so far as to say that it is impossible; would add that, by this devious route, the attainment of a universal pact of security made up of a number of partial agreements—if indeed we ever do attain it—will not only be difficult, but desperately slow.

We shall reach our goal so late and after so many difficulties that if we adopt this expedient and maintain our present policy, public opinion in Europe will find the question of disarmament postponed "to the Greek Kalends," and that would be disastrous for the credit of the League.

The situation is made clear by the proposal which the first delegate of Spain, M. Quiñones de León, has laid before the Assembly. I do not blame him for what he has done—on the contrary. The last part of the resolution of which he is the author, the part which refers to arbitration, is what I would venture to describe as a temporising proposal, one of those proposals which are made when the author really believes

that it is impossible to say anything definite and decided, and yet feels bound to say something:

"And requests the Council to make preparatory arrangements for a Conference on the reduction of armaments as soon as, in its opinion, satisfactory conditions have been achieved from the point of view of general security as provided for in Resolution XIV of the Third Assembly."

On these lines we shall accomplish nothing at all. I can assure you that we have reached a critical point in the evolution of the League and the development of the influence which it ought to exercise in the world.

I will tell you quite frankly that last year I supported the Protocol, partly because it paved the way for the general conference on disarmament. But I had other reasons too: the grandeur of the plan cast its spell over me. Indeed, the Protocol does not merely aim at supplying certain omissions in the Covenant. There is between the Protocol and the Covenant a radical difference which cannot be over-emphasised.

The Covenant admits the legality of war in certain cases. It provides for certain interim periods, during which passions could often be allayed and better counsels prevail; but if, at the end of the period, the contending nations are not agreed that arbitration would lead to a satisfactory settlement, war, according to the Covenant, is permissible, is indeed declared to be legitimate.

The Protocol, on the other hand, undertakes an immense and formidable task, which might not immediately have led to practical results, but which is great if only because of the immensity of the idea it embodies—the task of abolishing war, once for all, because war, according to the Protocol, would be armed intervention to ensure the application of its provisions, the intervention of an international police force, and not the resort to arms by a party seeking to obtain justice by its own efforts.

This, then, is the radical difference between the Protocol and the Covenant; and now, as I say, we find ourselves faced with a conflict of opinions. It is not for me to take sides. It is not for me or my country to give an opinion when two nations for which it professes an equal regard disagree upon a point of European policy.

I will not say that we are the disciples of one or the other of these nations. We have evolved on entirely independent lines. Nevertheless, everybody knows that our constitutional evolution resembles, on a smaller scale, that of Great Britain; so much so indeed that all our instincts, all our sympathies, attract us to the country which has shown the world, on a grand scale, that which we ourselves have reproduced in a smaller way, but with striking similarity and, as I said, quite independently.

Our first constitutional document, the Golden Bull of King André, dates only seven years later than the Magna Carta of England. This was not a constitutional charter dictated by the King; it was, like all the constitutional documents of England, a record of liberties and

principles which already existed, but which had been violated. In our evolution we proceeded in the same way, by stages, always showing a firm front to every abuse as it occurred. There is not in Hungary, any more than in England, a document which can be called the Hungarian constitution. The constitution has developed by means of individual laws and of precedents.

The British delegate said that no revolutionary movement has occurred in his country for 250 years. We can say that never throughout its whole history has Hungary known a revolution. We have sometimes taken up arms in defence of our rights when they have been trampled upon, but of revolution, of any attempt to break with the past and reconstruct the future upon a purely rational basis, no trace will be found in the history of Hungary. Our constitutional development is characterised by its continuity throughout 10 centuries and down to the present time.

We regard the British Empire, its constitutional evolution, and its mentality, as the great model. It is a curious coincidence that this great nation should show the world, in the grand and imposing drama of its history, developments similar to those which have taken place on a smaller scale in Hungary.

On the other side, we see in France the glorious vanguard of all liberty and human progress; she has never hesitated herself to venture into the unknown in order to give humanity a new impulse, a new principle of universal emancipation.

Thus, divided in our sentiments, divided in our admiration, we cannot pronounce in favour of either side; but what I am anxious above all to prevent is our entering a blind ally, and despairing of ever accomplishing anything in the way of disarmament.

You will remember the frequent applause with which M. Paul-Boncour's speech was greeted, but at no point of his discourse was the applause so long and so loud as when he uttered the magic word "disarmament."

There is no need for me to repeat what general disarmament means for us, who are regionally disarmed, disarmed under a unilateral system of disarmament! For us the general reduction of armaments would mean the end of an intolerable situation, bringing daily humiliations. For us it is not a case of security preceding disarmament, it is only disarmament which will give us security, for we are defenceless while all around us are armed.

Therefore what I seek, what I shall do my utmost to obtain, is that some further efforts shall be made to assure the world that the Assembly, that the League of Nations, is expending on the problem of disarmament something more than words, empty, futile words.

A wag said to me one day—I apologise for quoting him, but I really think his remark is witty, though it may not be in perfect good taste—that the activity of the League of Nations strangely resembled the efforts described in the French quatrain:—

A l'ombre d'un élocher,
L'ombre d'un cocher,
De l'ombre d'une brosse,
Frottait l'ombre d'un carrosse.

We must not allow that. We must have no more of phantoms.

Since we cannot obtain disarmament without first obtaining security, since we cannot and must not call a general conference on disarmament, which would inevitably fail, only one thing remains, and that is to begin the preparatory work at once, so that when the time for the Disarmament Conference arrives it will be able to attack the problem boldly and with a full knowledge of the facts, treat the problem on a general basis and reach a decision without delay.

I therefore venture to lay before you an amendment to the draft resolution of M. Quiñones de León, and I beg the Assembly to forward my amendment to the Committee which will examine the resolution submitted by the Spanish delegate. I ask you to substitute the following text for the last paragraph of the resolution proposed by the Spanish delegate:—

And invites the Council to consider forthwith plans for a general reduction of armaments in accordance with article 8 of the Covenant, and, at the same time, to make preparatory arrangements for a Conference on the reduction of armaments, such Conference to meet and to begin its work without delay, as soon as, in the opinion of the Council or of the Assembly, those conditions of security are fulfilled on which the success of the Conference must depend.

The Council is invited to report to the Seventh Assembly on the progress of the work undertaken in execution of the present resolution.

You will perceive the difference. According to M. Quiñones de León's recommendation, nothing is to be done for the present. The Council and Assembly will await events with folded arms, and when, after a certain time, the question is reviewed from the point of view of security, the whole operation will have to be repeated from A to Z. But although there may be cogent reasons for not proceeding with disarmament until certain guarantees have been secured, there is no reason why we should not begin the preparatory work forthwith.

A resolution to the effect that the preparatory work should be begun at once will prove to the public opinion of Europe that we really desire to bring about disarmament and intend to secure tangible results.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to add a few general remarks

The first delegate for the British Empire expressed in eloquent phrases his faith in the power of moral forces. He also told us that the main task, the task upon which the effect of material disarmament depends, is moral disarmament.

I entirely agree. All my life I have proclaimed my respect for moral forces. I sincerely believe in them, but they must be operative,

and at a stage when no formula can be found to embody them it is to be feared that they are not operative, that their effect is retrogressive; for moral forces can be destructive as well as constructive, and that is one of the chief perils in the present situation of the civilised world.

We have all arrived—or, at least, I hope so—at the stage of evolution where we desire the reign of right and not might. Indeed, the League was instituted for that purpose. We wish to establish the reign of justice, and to found peace upon justice, because these two terms, justice and peace, are correlative and inseparable. Justice is always imperilled when it is handed over to the chances of war, because there is no correlation between armed force and the justice of a cause.

Moreover, durable peace can only be founded upon justice; it cannot be based upon the toleration of injustice. The great danger of this work, the great danger of the present situation—a danger to which humanity is exposed at all troubled periods—is this: though theoretically we are agreed as to bringing about the reign of justice, a profound disagreement exists among various countries of Europe as to what justice is. Moral disarmament, moral guarantees, the power of moral forces to secure peace will only become facts when this disagreement has been overcome, when it has, as the English say, been “bridged over.” That is a result which can be obtained neither by force nor by mere preaching. Force can determine material facts, but has no power over the soul. On the other hand, preaching alone is powerless in the face of organic and psychological forces as deeplying as those which are now at work in the various countries. What, then, is to be done?

We must allow time for this psychological evolution gradually to remove or gloss over our differences. It requires time, and that is why I gave my adhesion to the Protocol.

It requires time, and meanwhile we must strengthen existing positive law and protect it from all violation. Those who, like myself, are convinced that the present law must be modified, realise, if they have had any experience of history, that tottering and menaced institutions are the very ones which cling most tenaciously to their existence, and that we cannot alter a building unless its foundations are sound.

That is why, in the face of a large section of public opinion in my country, I adhered to that part of the Protocol which provides positive guarantees, although I was not at all enthusiastic about it. On the other hand, we must remove all lesser sources of friction; I therefore insist that both the problem of minorities and the general problem of disarmament must be dealt with. In fact the one-sided disarmament to which we have been subjected is a great obstacle to racial reconciliation, because it inflicts upon the countries which are its victims a humiliation which is intolerable for countries possessing any national pride. If we desire to secure a lasting peace, we must remove all legal distinctions between the status of different nations. So long as there exists one law for certain nations and another law for others, we have not peace but an armistice. What we

desire is peace, and not a truce. We desire a peace based upon the spontaneous adhesion, the real, sincere, permanent adhesion, of all men, to whichever side they may belong.

That is why I insist on our taking such action, in order to assist the healing influence of moral forces. The greatest of these moral forces, devotion to justice, can be directed along the path to disaster if there is perpetual disagreement as to the conception of justice itself. This moral force must be directed towards peace, towards moral disarmament. Confidence in the work of the League must be increased, because, frankly, that confidence is at present in a very parlous condition.

All this is necessary if we are to obtain the benefits of moral disarmament.

I now conclude. As the representative of a small country, I have perhaps been extremely outspoken, but I have always held that we do not come here to pay each other compliments; we come to throw light upon the situation, and in this all must assist by speaking with absolute frankness. Moreover, I am convinced that when we are speaking to those who are more powerful than ourselves adulation and reticence are an insult, free and manly speech is homage.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of a Speech by M. Louis Loucheur, Member of the French Delegation, in the Assembly on 15th September 1925.*

The French Delegation has the honour to submit to the Assembly a draft resolution, which I will now read:—

The Assembly,

Being resolved to examine every method of promoting peace throughout the world;

Being convinced that economic peace will contribute largely to ensuring the security of peoples:

Invites the Council to set up on the widest basis a preparatory committee for the purpose of preparing for the work of an International Economic Conference, with the help of the Technical Organizations of the League and of the International Labour Office.

A decision regarding the convening of this Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations should be taken later by the Council.

The purpose of this Conference should be to examine the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the restoration of general prosperity and to discover the best methods of surmounting these difficulties and of avoiding disputes.

I will explain briefly the reasons for which France has submitted this resolution to the Assembly.

We shall soon have concluded a long and interesting discussion, in which the question of security has dominated all others. The close attention with which the Assembly has followed

the discussion has shown to the peoples of the world, whose eyes are turned towards Geneva, that you are determined to give them security.

But as our distinguished colleague, M. Scialoja, told us the other day in a speech which was enriched with all the treasures of his long experience, and in which a touch of scepticism was concealed amid some very sound advice—as M. Scialoja told us, it is the hidden causes of war which we must discover and destroy. It is not enough merely to cure the attack or the illness once it has broken out; you must try to prevent it.

Such is our aim in laying our proposal before you.

The causes of war are undoubtedly manifold. They are often political, sometimes ethnical. But I think everyone in this Assembly will agree that one of the most frequent causes of the scourge of war in the past has been the economic struggle between different countries. I could find many examples of this in recent history, but I desire to avoid any discussion which might be painful, any allusion which might wound our feelings. The statesmen assembled here will know what I mean from their own experience.

All of us here are aware of the serious unrest which now prevails and has prevailed throughout the whole world, and especially in Europe, ever since the end of the war. The causes of this unrest are many, and lie perhaps in the pre-war situation. I wonder, then, whether the world had sufficiently realised the profound changes which had taken place during the last century. Consider the evolution of those peoples who once were almost exclusively engaged in agriculture, and who, dragged gradually into the industrial whirlpool, have perceived the social dangers which were growing up simultaneously with the increased difficulty of trading.

Diplomats, who, it is said, are often behind the times, had perhaps not followed the movement closely enough, and had not quite clearly perceived the dangers of these economic conflicts.

Then came the war, complicating the situation still further. To-day, what with new frontiers and the alteration of Customs tariffs, what with the system of import and export prohibitions, the difficulties in connection with transit and communications, and above all, to be quite frank, the monetary disturbances which have completely changed the system of commercial exchanges; the whole world is now plunged into a state of economic unrest.

Does this mean that nothing has been done during the last few years to remedy this situation? That would be to ignore the efforts both of the Governments and of the League.

Improvements, indeed, have already been accomplished. Many nations, for example, have succeeded in restoring a sound monetary system. But at the same time something has occurred to which, I think, sufficient attention has not been given. At the very time when great efforts were being made here to attain international co-ordination, a drastic policy of economic nationalism was being pursued in every country, with the paradoxical result that at the very moment when we, assembled at Geneva, were leaving no stone unturned to promote the security of the world, there was, in your own countries—in mine as

well as yours—a manifest desire to bar imports as far as possible; and live under a sort of self-contained industrial system which may, I think, in the future lead to very serious trouble.

And now, having rapidly reviewed the existing unrest and its causes, let us consider the possible remedies.

First of all, does this question come within the competence of the League? I am not a jurist. It is not for me to discuss the Covenant. Still, I have read it, and I remember article 23, para. (c), which was not inserted without good cause, and which, in fact, refers to the economic task we ask you to undertake.

Recently you rendered assistance to certain nations, and the other day, when M. Scialoja—I apologise to him for quoting him again—reminded you of the League's task, when he told you that you have done magnificent work in the financial restoration of Austria and Hungary, he traced the same path which we are now asking you to follow. That work is a splendid reply to those who are criticising the activities of the League, and I myself, speaking as a practical man—which is quite compatible with idealism—am astounded at the magnificent results you have so speedily obtained. Four years ago, at the Paris and London Conferences, Great Britain and France jointly began to attack the difficult problem of Austria. That problem was submitted to you in 1922, and to-day the financial part of the problem is solved. In a few days you will also have occasion to applaud a similar success in the case of Hungary. Yet the Covenant did not explicitly provide for intervention by the League in such financial questions. Do not these encouraging results, combined with the programme laid down in article 23, para. (c), give you the right—which, in my opinion, is indisputable—to undertake the great task of economic reconstruction, which is the aim of our resolution?

You will ask me, how, and for what purpose?

I am perfectly aware of all the objections to an international economic conference. I would even undertake to make from this platform a far longer speech against it than for it, but that is what always happens in life. I have often found that, on the whole, it is easier to destroy than to construct: yet I appeal to you to undertake a work of construction.

What States would be invited to take part in this International Economic Conference? What would be its programme?

We do not claim to lay this programme before you. We merely ask you to authorise, or, more exactly, to invite your Council to call a preparatory committee to prepare the programme for this Conference. The difficulty will perhaps lie not in stating what the programme should include, but rather what it should not. Economic questions are so vast that clearly, if we attempt to go too far in certain directions, if we attempt to draw up too comprehensive a programme, we shall almost certainly fail, and the Conference will degenerate into a purely academic debating society.

But I would not have you suppose that this Conference will result in real international conventions. To think so would be a great mistake. The Conference would enunciate a number of

principles. It would seek some method of international co-operation to apply them, and as a result—this, in my opinion, is the most important point—it should be possible, in respect of certain branches of production which are easier to examine and analyse than others, to draw up a number of Conventions between nations, or rather between producers in those nations under the control of the Governments. Such conventions, apart from the Conference itself, will lead, for a time, to stability of production and consumption.

That is what I desired to say concerning the object of our proposal.

I repeat that we could develop this programme at great length, but in so doing we should show a lack of respect for the Second Committee, to which we ask that our resolution shall be referred, and we should also be exposing ourselves prematurely to certain criticisms which I can already foresee. I will not dwell on these objections for the moment, because we shall have an opportunity of replying to them either in the Second Committee or during the final meetings of this Assembly.

In taking the initiative in this matter, and submitting to you this resolution, which you must all realise is of great importance for every one of the countries that has sent you to Geneva, France is not acting in her own interest. In point of fact, after all her suffering during the war, France has regained during the last three years a certain measure of prosperity more apparent, perhaps, than real. This is partly owing to the mildness of her climate and the fertility of her soil, and partly to the fact that she is not so highly industrialised as other countries, and in short has been able to maintain an equilibrium between her agricultural and industrial production.

France, therefore, has no direct interest in proposing the resolution I have submitted to you. She feels it her duty to do so because, like all of you, she is deeply attached to the cause of peace—that is to say, security. Security is the theme on which I will conclude what I have to say. You have met together here, you have shown the world the magnificent example of an Assembly determined to continue the work begun last year, of an Assembly where standpoints which are widely divergent in appearance—but mainly in appearance—have come into conflict, you have done this because you intend not only to maintain your programme, but to carry it out, adhering strictly to the principles of arbitration, security, and disarmament.

Your prolonged debates have shown all those who are watching you that, without desiring uselessly to prolong the discussion, you firmly intend to solve the problem. You have reached a stage when you can no longer delay your decision till to-morrow—a morrow which never dawns.

The task which France ventures to propose to you is the normal and logical outcome of the effort to obtain security by seeking to effect a radical cure of the evil you are combating.

Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, this task is in keeping with the ideals of justice and of peace on which you have set your hearts. The nations of the world are longing for its achievement. It is worthy of the nations you represent.

ANNEX VII.—*Report of a Speech by The Right Hon. the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, K.C. (British Delegate), in the Assembly on 16th September 1925.*

I rise to support the resolutions which have been put before you by the *rapporteurs* of the First and Third Committees. They are four in number, the long resolution which has been called familiarly the Spanish Resolution, two resolutions about arbitration, and one, about the machinery known as the Co-ordination Committee, has now received a new name. As to the latter point I do not propose to say anything, because the matter has been referred to the Council, and I do not think there is anything which can usefully be added to what is contained in the reports on the subject. But with regard to the other broad general principle I may perhaps be allowed to recall that it is now several years since I first had the honour to addressing this Assembly on the broad question of disarmament and security, and it is a matter of personal gratification to myself to be able to say that I have nothing to withdraw, I do not think I have anything to modify, in the opinions which I then expressed, and still adhere to, from this tribune. I believe now as strongly as I ever believed that disarmament is vital to the world, it is vital to peace, and it is vital to prosperity. I believe there is no duty more incumbent on the League of Nations than to work for that object.

It is imposed upon us by article 8 of the Covenant, and we must never allow ourselves to forget it. It is not less imposed on many of us by the preface to the disarmament clauses in the Treaties of Peace that were signed at Paris. I venture to say that in that great cause we can still rely upon the broad principles which the Assembly accepted in the year 1922. The broad principles were two, namely, that disarmament, to be effective, must be general—that, I believe, is still true—and that security and disarmament must go hand in hand, for they are essential to one another. You will not get complete security without disarmament; neither can you hope for disarmament without security. It is because the chief resolution we are considering to-day reaffirms, and reaffirms explicitly, the principles of 1922 that I feel so happy and confident in supporting it from this tribune.

Whatever else may be said of the last two or three years of the history of the League of Nations, it is no little gain that after all the storm and stress of controversies that have gone on during those years, when the whole question has been examined and re-examined by every Government and every people, we still come back to the principles we then established, and are able once more, after mature consideration, to reaffirm them in this Assembly.

But the resolution does more than that. I, personally, attach great importance to that paragraph in which aggressive war is formally denounced. I believe that is a most important principle to get really into the minds of the peoples of the world. Under the old system of international law, war was a right. We are now prepared to say, and to say it with all the authority of this Assembly, that aggressive war is an international

crime. Then, it is of no less importance that the negotiations, the proposals of a Pact between certain countries, of which we are all aware, are definitely approved by the resolution which is before us. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently realised, though it has been mentioned, that here, too, we are back on the principles of 1922 even as to methods; for this proposal of a special Pact, which, as we know, it is hoped will lead up to a series of similar Pacts, was one of the methods contemplated in 1922. I will venture to read one sentence from the celebrated Resolution No. 14: "This reduction"—the reduction of armaments—"could be carried out either by means of a general treaty, which is the most desirable plan, or by means of partial treaties designed to be extended and open to all countries."

I remember very well—my friend M. de Jouvenel will remember equally well—that at that time there was a considerable controversy of a very friendly kind as to which method it was most desirable to pursue. It was my contention that we should go by way of a general treaty filled up with special treaties, if I may so describe it; and it was the French contention, represented by M. de Jouvenel, that we should go by special treaties leading up ultimately to a general treaty. We are now in a somewhat reversed position. I am not prepared to admit that I was wrong. I still think that had it been practicable my plan, if I may venture to say that it was my plan, the plan for which I argued then, was the better plan. But M. de Jouvenel constantly assured me that however desirable my plan might be, when it came to the point it would not be practicable, and that his plan, more modest and more cautious, would ultimately be found to be the one which was more easily adopted by the peoples of the world. I congratulate M. de Jouvenel on his superior foresight. But the point is, apart from these little personal recollections, that in the position at which we have now arrived and in the policy which is now accepted and approved by this resolution, we are not departing from the basis laid down in 1922, and, having tried one route in the intervening years, we have now embarked upon the other route which was then contemplated; but to that we have added the principle of arbitration.

Now I observe sometimes, a little criticism of the British attitude towards arbitration. Let me repeat what had been said already in this Assembly—that there is no warmer friend of arbitration among the nations of the world than the British people and the British Government. In practice it has always had our warmest support. The Mosul case, which has been referred to quite lately, where we have been ready and anxious to settle a great international dispute by arbitration, is only one of a long series of incidents of our national policy in which I may say, I think without exaggeration, that whenever we have found ourselves in a serious international dispute we have always urged arbitration; I am using "arbitration" in the widest possible sense. Do not let us forget that on the eve of the great war it was the British Minister who urged most insistently of all men that the dispute which then existed should be submitted not to arbitration in the smaller sense, but to that broad discussion between the peoples which is contemplated now in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It has always been the British policy, when you come to the

actual crisis, the actual difficulty that may have arisen. But I must repeat what was so very admirably said by my friend and colleague, Mr. Chamberlain—that there is deep down in the British nature a distrust of general principles, and though they may be ready and anxious, as they always are, when it comes to the point, to have recourse to arbitration, though the idea of force and violence is utterly alien to their method of looking at these things, yet they are nervous and distrustful about accepting wide and general principles, the full extent of which they cannot measure and the full bearing of which on the immense interests entrusted to their charge they cannot appreciate until the time comes.

Personally; let me say that I have always believed, and believe still, that in this great edifice of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, arbitration is not the foundation but the final coping stone of the structure. It will be the result much more than the cause of that attitude of mind on which really the peace of nations depends. Here again, let me point out, we have an instance at our very doors, again the question of Mosul. I trust that the difficulty will be overcome. I need not stay to argue it here. But what is the difficulty that has arisen? It is the doubt whether both parties were really ready to accept arbitration. If that had not been so, arbitration would have had no difficulties before it. It is because you cannot impose arbitration on a nation, but it must be the result of the spirit by which the nation is guided that I have always held that arbitration must be the last rather than the first step in this great enterprise.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I venture to remind you that in saying that I am merely in consonance with what the history of individual nations teaches. I take my own nation's history; but it is not different in that respect from that of other nations. In England the supremacy of the law, the rule that all disputes between individuals must go to the legal tribunals for settlement, was not the first step; it was the last. The first step was to put a stop to private war and private violence. The first step was that great step that was taken by our splendid line of sovereigns, those sovereigns whom we imported so successfully from France. It was the work of William I, of Henry I, of Henry II, and of Edward I, which laid the foundation of the great work which the last-named King did in establishing the principle of the supremacy of the law. It was because we had got to a system of internal security, and to some extent, though imperfectly, to internal disarmament, that in civil life the law became the possible arbiter of all disputes.

I am satisfied myself and I have always been satisfied that the great thing in international life is to get rid of the conception that war is the natural way of settling international disputes, to establish firmly the principle that security and disarmament must be the rule of international life, and then arbitration, the actual machinery of settlement of disputes, will become so obvious and so inevitable that no difficulties will be found in its way. But, in saying that, do not let me be misunderstood, I recognise that these three great causes, security, disarmament, and arbitration, are inter-dependent. A little security will bring a little disarmament, a

little disarmament will bring more security, more security and more disarmament will undoubtedly produce more arbitration, and the more arbitration you get the greater will be the prospects of security and disarmament. The three causes are inter-dependent and we must work at all of them. I welcome most heartily that part of the resolution which points out that that is the duty of this Assembly.

May I add a word about the impatience which I gather from what I have read is sometimes shown with what is called the British attitude of caution. There has even been the suggestion, the tacit suggestion, that the British are not in earnest in these great causes. Nothing could be more foolish and nothing could be more unjust. I have been engaged during this Assembly in promoting an effort to establish a new Convention for the abolition of slavery and other things analogous to slavery. The British Government proposed that that Convention should be signed at this Assembly. It was pointed out to us, and perfectly rightly and legitimately pointed out to us, that other nations desire to have an opportunity of considering this matter, and that, though they were quite in favour of our general proposal, they wanted further time, they wanted further opportunity for weighing the serious suggestions that were being made. We readily yielded to that representation. I thought it perfectly reasonable and right. I should have despised myself utterly if, because this or that nation had urged a little caution, a little delay, I had concluded that they were less in favour of the abolition of slavery than was the British Government. A desire to march cautiously does not mean a reluctance to march to the end.

There is a very well-known Italian proverb, which I will not venture to try to quote in the original language, which points out that if you go slowly you may yet reach the goal of your efforts more certainly than if you try to go too fast. May I venture, with the utmost respect and deference, to say this to my friends and colleagues of the Assembly. The League is now growing up. We are no longer in a period of uncertainty or establishment. The League is established. It is the greatest international fact of our day. The general principles of it have been well settled. The foundations have been completely laid. There is no need for us now to pass resolutions of a theoretic or abstract character. It is our business henceforward to be sternly practical, to consider not only what is desirable, but what can be done to forward the great causes we have at heart. There is an English expression which I may perhaps remind you of without impertinence, because I think that it must be an English idiom, for I know of no translation of it into a foreign language. We sometimes speak of "gush," that is, exaggerated expression which has not a basis in reality, aspirations which forgot that, if they are to be useful, they must also be practical.

There is nothing more easy than to profess the highest sentiments and the most admirable aspirations. There is a danger—do not let us forget it—that in this Assembly we may be sometimes tempted to substitute aspiration for action. That is a grave danger, a danger which besets all parties, and perhaps besets us not less

or even more than other Assemblies. For we are here without the direct and immediate duty of carrying into effect the principles which we accept. The Assembly as a whole lays down its principles, but it is for the national Governments to carry them into effect. And there is a danger—is there not?—that some of us, especially some perhaps who are not so immediately affected by the resolutions, may pass the warmest and highest sounding motions, leaving it to the Governments in the respective countries to carry them out as best they can.

I speak plainly because I do not think I shall be suspected of any lack of warmth for the League of Nations or any lack of affection or belief. I believe in it profoundly. But I do venture very respectfully to urge on all my colleagues that we have now reached a stage when it is absolutely incumbent upon us to ask as to every proposal, every aspiration, would my own countrymen accept this? Would they pass the necessary legislation to carry it out? Unless we are satisfied that we intend that that should be the case, unless we believe that that can in fact be achieved, then we have no right to vote for any aspiration however splendid and however magnificent.

What we need now in the League of Nations is actual, definite, positive advance, even if it is slow. It is far better to gain even an inch, if we really gain it, than to pretend that we have gained a mile when we have made no real advance at all. Therefore, I welcome most heartily the proposals which are contained in those resolutions, that we should forthwith submit to careful scientific study those great principles and objects of disarmament and arbitration. It is only by preparing the ground fully and effectively that we can hope really to make an advance which shall be a real advance.

I have heard in these debates a great deal about the principles of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and of the principles of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. I do not myself attach very great importance to whether what we are actually doing is more in accordance with one set of principles or the other, or whether they differ or are the same. That is not very important. The great principle is the principle of peace and as to that I am quite sure that we are advancing on the right road. I heard the other day in a Committee M. Hymans defending a phrase in a report of his about the organisation of peace, and saying that he did not mean by that the old organisation of peace on the Roman basis, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, but rather on the new basis of the League of Nations as enshrined in this resolution, namely, the re-establishment of confidence between nations. That is what we are trying to do now, that is the principle by which the Pact negotiations of which we have heard are inspired, that is the principle on which we should work. And, believe me, there is no nation more convinced of the essential importance of that principle than the nation to which I have the honour to belong. It is very many years since it was laid down that peace is the greatest of British interests. I will venture to add that peace is also the greatest of British duties. We believe that the British people believe it profoundly. The vastly overwhelming majority of the British

people are convinced of the truth of that principle. Governments may come, Governments may go, they may be drawn from the Left, or from the Right, they may consist of labourers or of landowners, but, believe me, ladies and gentlemen, they will all have to conform to that principle or otherwise their existence will be short indeed. Therefore, I say, speaking for the British Government and through them for the British people, let us go on in this work and prosper. It is a work that is dear to my fellow-countrymen, and there is no nation in the world which will so genuinely and from their heart say to you, God be with you.

ANNEX VIII.—*Report of a speech delivered in the Fifth Committee by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala on 15th September 1925.*

I count it an honour that I have been selected to serve upon a Committee which concerns itself with matters so intimately connected with the welfare of humanity as those which come under our notice to-day. The nation to which I belong has ever been conspicuous for its interest in benevolent and peaceful activities; and though we do not hesitate to draw the sword in defence of right and justice, we know full well how to value the arts of peace. As a soldier myself, and one who has served my Emperor in many countries, I have seen much of human suffering; and I take pride in the fact that we, in this Committee, are concerned in conspicuous degree with its prevention or alleviation.

The programme put forward by the Advisory Committee for dealing with the protection of children and the traffic in women is one that must appeal to all of those present. We must, I think, welcome the collection of information, the pooling of experience, the stimulus of a common endeavour in the pursuit of common ideals. On the other hand, we must, I think, recognise that different peoples possess social and economic systems that differ widely one from the other; and that we must be careful not to defeat the purpose we have in view by any action that could be construed as an attempt to interfere in the domestic concerns of particular peoples. Let me take as an example one item on the proposed programme. The recent history of my own country has clearly revealed to students of social progress the extraordinary complexity and difficulty of the questions of the age of consent and the age of marriage. These ages are with us rigidly determined by our various socio-religious systems; and the secular Government can attempt to interfere with them only at its peril. Do not let me be misunderstood. We are doing our best. So far as grave offences against women are concerned, we have ratified the White Slave Traffic Convention of 1921; may, more, we have radically amended our penal code to make the more serious offences against women, such as the procurement of minor girls, applicable up to the age of 18. May I be permitted to express a hope that all other countries, many of whom have not our peculiar difficulties to contend with, will see their way to joining without exception in similar measures? But it is not with this that I am immediately concerned. I refer to the age of marriage and the

age of consent, in matters where the ordinary life of the people is concerned. In this particular, speaking for India, I feel bound to point out the necessity for proceeding with all possible caution. Provided that the work of the Committee is confined purely to the collection of information, without any attempt to draw deductions therefrom or to formulate conventions of universal validity, I believe that little harm will be done. But I can assure my colleagues that any attempt to prescribe for India an age of consent or an age of marriage based upon Western ideas is not only doomed to disaster, but will actually set back the cause which social reformers have most at heart.

On the other hand, there are items upon the programme of the Committee's work which we in India heartily welcome. The study of the law relating to protection of life and health in early infancy is one which must make a strong appeal to us. It cannot have escaped your notice that the Government of India and certain of the Provincial Governments have for years paid particular attention to the question of child welfare. Only so recently as August last the Child Welfare Conference at Geneva was attended by representatives, not only of the Government of India, but also of the Governments of Bombay, Bengal, Burma, and the Punjab. Indeed, the child welfare movement is making great strides among us. The great voluntary organisations, such as the Indian Red Cross, and the benevolent institutions inaugurated by successive Viceroines carry on their work with the active assistance of the Executive Government. It is impossible to estimate the good that has been done by the Lady Dufferin Fund, the Lady Chelmsford League, and the National Baby Week organisation set on foot by Lady Reading. Yet, with our teeming population of 320 millions, infant mortality is heavy, and we heartily welcome any assistance in the way of expert assistance and organised knowledge which may result from the labours of the Committee.

The same is broadly true in regard to another term, namely, the effect of the cinematograph upon the moral and mental well-being of children. This question, while still not so pressing with us as with certain other countries, is already assuming some importance in our larger cities; and I feel sure that the collection of information bearing upon it would be of considerable service to the various Governments in India. Further, the provision of data regarding the instruction of young persons in biology, especially with reference to sexual education, is a subject the importance of which must be ranked very high by any thoughtful man.

I will not detain the Committee longer, but will sum up the attitude of the Government I have the honour to represent in a very few words. We feel that many of the items proposed are very useful. We view them with the utmost sympathy. But we feel that every care should be exercised by the Committee to avoid even the appearance of any desire to interfere with national customs or national sentiment; or to dictate a universal rule for peoples whose social institutions are of a widely different character. We consider, indeed, that certain of the subjects proposed for study are of such a character that the Committee would be well advised to confine itself to documentation, and

should make no attempt to draw comparisons which may be odious and can hardly be helpful. But we welcome the collection of information, as a result of which each nation may, if it so desire, indent upon the experience of its neighbours at its own discretion. Gentlemen, the time is not ripe for the process of convention upon many of these matters. Let us proceed with all proper caution, that our progress may be the more sure.

ANNEX IX.—*Report of a Speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in the Second Committee on 19th September 1925.*

I am sure that all of us on this Committee must feel great sympathy with the objects of the Ciralo scheme. The relief of suffering is among the noblest goals of human endeavour, and I should like to be allowed to join in the general expressions of gratitude to Senator Ciralo, to whose zeal the scheme owes its inception, and to the Committee who have presented the valuable report which forms the basis of our present discussion.

But, ladies and gentlemen, however worthy the objects of a scheme may be, it behoves us to examine with the greatest care the methods by which these objects are proposed to be attained, and if I and the Government which I represent cannot give their support to the scheme it is not, let me once more assure you that we lack sympathy with Senator Ciralo's objects, but that we do not believe these objects can be attained by the machinery he proposes.

From the standpoint of India, the whole scheme is, if I may be allowed the expression, somewhat impractical. Let us get down to realities.

You will notice that in the draft Statutes of the Proposed International Relief Union there is an attempt to define what is meant by a disaster. From this heading are excluded endemic calamities, such as certain famines, periodical calamities, such as floods, and calamities which are purely local from the point of view of the countries in which they occur.

Now the first question I would like to ask is what is meant by the word local? My own country has a population of 320,000,000, and an area of 1,805,332 square miles. You will readily understand that a disaster which from the point of view of India as a whole might be considered as local, may easily assume such a magnitude as to exceed almost any catastrophe which is considerable among the less numerous populations of the countries of Europe. Again, endemic calamities, such as famines, periodical calamities, such as floods, are to be excluded. Now, my country is constantly exposed to three particular dangers: famines, epidemics, and floods. Are these famines, epidemics, and floods to be excluded from the category of national disasters? If such is the case, how can India be expected to acquiesce in Senator Ciralo's project? On the other hand, if they are to be included, let me inform the Committee that during the last 30 years the Government of India alone have expended at an average £880,000

annually upon precautionary measures of various kinds. During these 30 years no less than £25,500,000 has been devoted to measures to combat epidemics, starvation, and floods. This sum includes the construction of protective railways and irrigation works, as well as famine relief properly so-called. But I would again ask the Committee to note the fact that this sum applies only to British India; and does not include the cost of the measures, very extensive though they are, taken for the same purpose by myself and my brother Princes, who rule one-third of India's land and one-fourth of her population. Nor does it include the funds raised by private charity and through unofficial sources, which have, on occasions, attained very large amounts.

It will be said that the Circolo project is not costly. I admit it. But from the standpoint of India, this admission is in itself a condemnation.

I have given you the figures of Government's annual expenditure upon precautionary measures for the relief of those disasters to which my country is particularly exposed. Even this tremendous expenditure is inadequate for our requirements as the periodical occurrence of disasters plainly proves. What then can be done

for the mitigation of human suffering, even in India alone, by the meagre funds with which it is proposed to start the Circolo scheme? Should not we in India be justified in considering that by contributing to a project of this kind we were diverting from our own pressing and urgent requirements funds which, under no reasonable supposition, ought we to be asked to sacrifice?

Ladies and gentlemen, there are many criticisms which India has to level against this scheme; but I do not wish to detain you and will content myself with safeguarding my right to raise them, if necessary, in another place.

Mr. Chairman, before I conclude there is one further remark I have to make. There is, I know, a general desire to expedite the business of the Committee; but at the same time, a scheme so important as that of Signor Circolo demands full and careful consideration. Would you, Mr. Chairman, find it possible to secure for this scheme an early place upon the agenda of the Assembly? To my great regret, urgent engagements in England prevent my staying in Geneva beyond 26th September, and I should feel under a considerable obligation if the matter could be taken up for consideration by the Assembly prior to my departure.

APPENDIX IV.

List of the Resolutions of the Sixth Assembly.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
Work of the Health Organisation (21 Sept.)	11	Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments (see also pp. 13—15) (25 Sept.)	5
Financial Reconstruction of Hungary (21 Sept.)	7	Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (2 Resolutions) (25 Sept.)	4
Financial Reconstruction of Austria (21 Sept.)	8	Co-ordination Commission set up by the Council for Work on Disarmament (25 Sept.)	14
Work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit (21 Sept.)	10	Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People (25 Sept.)	20
Proposal of the Netherlands Delegation concerning the Replies of the Special Committee of Jurists appointed under the Councils Resolution of 28 Sept. 1923 (21 Sept.)	6	Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War (25 Sept.)	16
Amendment to Article 16 of the Covenant (21 Sept.)	6	Year Book of General and Statistical Information on Military, Naval, and Air Armaments (25 Sept.)	16
Situation in China (22 Sept.)	29	Protection of Women and Children in the Near East (25 Sept.)	20
Statistical Information on the trade in Arms and Ammunition and in implements of war (22 Sept.)	16	Erection of an Assembly Hall and annexes for the use of the Secretariat (25 Sept.)	18
Proposal concerning the establishment of a Conciliation Commission attached to the Permanent Court of International Justice (22 Sept.)	5	Collaboration of the Press in the work of Disarmament (26 Sept.)	24
Optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice (22 Sept.)	7	International Municipal Co-operation (25 Sept.)	22
Work of the Financial Committee (Greek Refugees, Danzig, Double taxation and fiscal evasion, Statistical publications) (22 Sept.)	8	Allocation of the expenses of the League (26 Sept.)	17
Work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (22 Sept.)	13	Audited Accounts and Budget of the League and other financial questions (26 Sept.)	16
Protection of Minorities (22 Sept.)	23	Contributions in arrears (26 Sept.)	18
Mandates (22 Sept.)	24	Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs (26 Sept.)	19
Question of the withdrawal of Costa Rica from the League (24 Sept.)	29	Loan for the settlement in Armenia of Armenian Refugees (26 Sept.)	21
Election of the Non-Permanent Members of the Council (24 Sept.)	28	Measures to help Refugees (26 Sept.)	21
International Relief Union (24 Sept.)	12	Question of Slavery (26 Sept.)	27
Work of the Economic Committee (24 Sept.)	9	Appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to visit certain Opium-producing countries (26 Sept.)	20
International Economic Conference (24 Sept.)	11	Non-Permanent Members of the Council (26 Sept.)	41

I. GRAHAM,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

